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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 452

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2 September 1983

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 452

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## NORTHEAST ASIA

### BRIEFS

KIM IL-SONG RECEIVES FRIENDSHIP GROUPS--Pyongyang, 2 Aug (XINHUA)--Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, received three visiting Chinese friendship delegations here this morning. He told the Chinese guests that the Chinese Communist Party is a great and glorious party. It has cleared up a turbulent situation in China and is displaying its power before the Chinese and world people. The visitors are the Chinese people's friendship delegation headed by Hong Xuezhi, Beijing friendship delegation led by Mayor Chen Xitong and the Chinese Communist Party's Jilin Province delegation headed by Qiang Xiaochu. The Chinese guests were feted by the Korean president this afternoon. Among those present on the occasion were Korean leaders So Yun-sok, Ho Tam, Yun Ki-pok, Hyon Chun-kuk and Pak Chung-kuk. The Chinese people's friendship delegation held a farewell banquet in the Chinese embassy this [evening]. [Text] [OW021920 Beijing XINHUA in English 1844 GMT 2 Aug 83]

JAPAN SOCIALIST PARTY CHAIRMAN--Tokyo, 2 Aug (XINHUA)--The Central Executive Committee of the Japan Socialist Party has appointed Masashi Ishibashi to replace Ichio Asukata as the party's chairman. Currently vice-chairman of the party, Ishibashi will assume the chairmanship at the next congress to be held in September. Chairman Asukata declared on 30 June that he would not retain his post as his party's seats in the House of Councillors had decreased in the 13th house election. Speaking to newsmen last evening, Ishibashi said that the Japan Socialist Party, at the autumn session of the Parliament, will strive to realize tax reduction and break through the present money politics and press for disbandment of the cabinet. He expressed the hope his party would have closer relations with the Komei Party and other opposition parties. Ishibashi, 58, has been elected member of the House of Representatives 10 times since 1955. He has served as head of the party's General Affairs Bureau, International Affairs Bureau, Foreign Affairs Committee, general secretary and vice-chairman. [Text] [OW021020 Beijing XINHUA in English 0757 GMT 2 Aug 83]

U.S. COMMANDER VISITS JAPAN--Tokyo, 5 Aug (XINHUA)--Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Forces in the Pacific Admiral William Crowe told Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone that the Soviet military buildup in Asia and the Pacific outpaces that in Europe in both quality and quantity, according to local press reports. During a half-hour courtesy call on the Japanese prime

minister, Crowe said that the United States and Japan should strengthen their defense cooperation, because that was vital, particularly in the defense of sealanes. They also agreed on the importance of the 1960 Japan-U.S. security treaty which Nakasone said formed the base of wide-range bilateral ties between the two countries. On the same day, Crowe had talks with Japanese Vice-Foreign Minister Nobuo Matsunaga and Director-General of Defense Agency Kazuo Tanikawa on matters concerning defense. Crowe arrived here on Wednesday for a 4-day visit during which he will inspect U.S. military bases in Japan. [Text] [OW050847 Beijing XINHUA in English 0751 GMT 5 Aug 83]

CSO: 4000/230

WESTERN EUROPE

XINHUA VIEWS FRENCH MINISTER'S CENTRAL AMERICAN TOUR

OW251802 Beijing XINHUA in English 1445 GMT 25 Jul 83

["Roundup: French Foreign Minister's Central America Tour"--XINUUA headline]

[Text] Paris, 25 Jul (XINHUA correspondent Yang Qi)--French Minister for External Relations Claude Cheysson today began his 2-week tour of Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia and Cuba, the longest trip he has ever made abroad since he assumed office in 1981.

What impresses observers here is the moment he has chosen for the visit and the obvious political nature of the tour. The trip is being made when the situation in Central America has become increasingly turbulent and the U.S. Government has announced a series of measures to deal with the Central American problems.

French diplomatic sources said the situation in Central America will be the main topic in the talks to be held between Cheysson and the leaders in the four Latin American countries.

The sources said, in the name of Western unity, the United States has requested the French Government not to [get] involved in affairs of Latin America which is regarded by Washington as its "backyard." The United States has also spread word that France has actually accepted the U.S. request. Observers here believed that Cheysson's current tour is tantamount to a rebut to the U.S. request and the word it has circulated.

Policy differences do exist between the United States and France. For instance, the United States regards the East-West conflict as the root cause of the deteriorating situation in Central America, while France thinks otherwise. Cheysson said in Senate on 19 May that problems in the Central American region involve various basic issues such as social injustice, land, legislation, racial discrimination, the gap between the rich and the poor, the domination of fortune and of menace.

French President Mitterrand has recently declared that France is opposed to any foreign intervention in that part of the world as Latin American people have the right to handle their own matters. France's position is to support negotiations of all kinds and avoid armed conflicts there, and therefore, it supports the actions taken by the Contadora Group, he stressed.

With regard to Cheysson's visit to Brazil, it was disclosed the French foreign minister will seek "stronger political ties" with that country as France has formidable economic interests there.

In Bolivia where the Socialist Party is in power, Cheysson will give France's political support to the Bolivian Government and discuss economic cooperation between the two countries.

In Colombia, a member of the Contadora Group, Cheysson and the Colombian leaders will lay their stress on the Central America issue during their discussions.

Cheysson will be the first French foreign minister to visit Cuba since Castro took power in 1959. It is believed the two parties will discuss the Central American situation and bilateral relations. An AFP report said Cheysson will probably raise the subject of Africa, where France has strong political and economic links with its former colonies and where there is strong Cuban presence.

Concerning Castro's possible visit to France, Cheysson told the press not long ago that "nothing is foreseen, nothing is excluded."

Cheysson's visit to Central America is regarded here as an important link in the chain of new diplomatic moves taken by the French Government towards Central America. France's roving Ambassador Antoine Blanca toured the region earlier this year and Minister for Foreign Trade Mrs Cresson will visit Latin American countries this autumn. Commenting on Cheysson's visit, LA TRIBUNE DES NATIONS said, "Certainly, Latin America has appeared as a very important geo-political region for France's diplomatic activities."

CSO: 4000/231

## WESTERN EUROPE

### ITALY FORMS FIRST SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT

OWO42219 Beijing XINHUA in English 1849 GMT 4 Aug 83

[text] Rome, 4 Aug (XINHUA)--Italy's 4-month-long government crisis ended today as Bettino Craxi formed a coalition government and became the first premier of the Socialist Party in the 37-year history of the Italian republic.

The 49-year-old leader of the Socialist Party this morning presented a list of cabinet ministers for a five-party coalition to President Alessandro Pertini. Craxi was sworn in this afternoon.

After 2 weeks of hard bargaining, he managed to put together a broad-based, five-party coalition composed of the Socialists, Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, Republicans and Liberals.

The Christian Democrats, the slipping but still dominant party in Italy, got the lion's share of cabinet posts in the 44th government since World War II. Former Christian Democrat Premier Giulio Andreotti became foreign minister while another ex-premier, Republican Leader Giovanni Spadolini, got the post of defense minister. However, former Premier Amintore Fanfani, Christian Democrat, refused to participate in the new government.

The new coalition government also includes three party leaders: Craxi, Spadolini and Social Democrat Pietro Longo, who became the budget minister.

The previous government led by Fanfani collapsed when the Socialist Party withdrew from his coalition and forced a general election on 26 and 27 June, a year ahead of schedule.

The elections left the Socialists, Italy's third largest party, holding an effective balance of power as it increased its share of the poll slightly from 9.8 percent to 11.4 percent. The Christian Democrats, who have led or dominated all post-war governments, got their share of the vote reduced from 38.3 percent to 32.9 percent but remained the single largest party in the country. The election results have forced the Christian Democrats to yield the premiership to the Socialists. In return, Craxi has been obliged to compromise to an economic program harsher than his party might have liked.

Observers here said that the new government will face the same daunting task of its predecessors in coping with an array of economic problems.

CSO: 4000/231

## WESTERN EUROPE

### BRIEFS

BRITISH LABOR PARTY HITS U.S. POLICY--London, 26 Jul (XINHUA)--U.S. President Reagan's Central American policy was sharply criticized by the British Labor Party. Commenting on Reagan's military build-up in Central America, Labor Party's Deputy Leader Denis Healey said today in a radio interview that "what President Reagan is trying to do is to deal with social and political problems by the imposition of force from outside." The risk was that the U.S. would find itself "trapped in a situation like Vietnam" which could lead to a military catastrophe, he noted. Later this afternoon, the Labor Party Leader Michael Foot and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher clashed over the matter in the House of Commons. Foot said that "the whole series of events that have taken place in the last few days are very serious--the sending of thousands of troops to Honduras, the blockade of Nicaragua and the expansion of CIA action over a wide area." He described the situation as one on a knife edge. Responding to the challenge from Foot, Mrs Thatcher said: "The United States is free to make its own dispositions on military exercises. That is what it has done." [Text] [OW270830 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 27 Jul 83]

CSO: 4000/231



WESTERN HEMISPHERE

VIOLENCE IN CHILE CAUSES WORLDWIDE CONCERN

OW160015 Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 15 Aug 83

[Text] Santiago, 14 Aug (XINHUA)--Last week's violent clashes between Chile's military government and demonstrators which claimed dozens of lives has caused widespread concern in the world and brought condemnation from opposition parties at home.

The Chilean Government announced yesterday that 24 demonstrators were killed and 53 wounded during a national protest on August 11 and 12. The demonstrators demanded an immediate return to democracy.

But in sharp contrast to the official accounts, local press reported that up to several hundred people were wounded and 1,200 arrested during the demonstrations.

A statement issued on Friday by the Democratic Alliance, formed by the Chilean Christian Democratic Party and four other parties, accused President Augusto Pinochet of being solely responsible for the incident.

Another anti-government organization, the Project of National Development, condemned the government's repression in a communique released on the same day. "The mass participation by Chileans in the protest demonstrates that the majority of citizens desire an immediate return to institutional normality," the communique said.

Local press here, quoting Western news agencies, reported on international concern over the violent clashes in Chile. Italian President Alles Sandro Pertini wrote to United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar on August 13, calling for U.N. condemnation of the "sanguinary repression" by the Chilean Government against its masses. President Luis Herrera of Venezuela said in Caracas last Saturday that the Chilean incident caused concern among all democrats.

In Spain, a Foreign Ministry spokesman last Friday expressed regret at what had happened in Chile. Spain hoped that democracy and freedom would soon be respected in Chile, he said. On the same day, a French Foreign Ministry spokesman also expressed the wish that "democracy would be restored in this country (Chile) as soon as possible."

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

U.S., MEXICAN PRESIDENTS DISCUSS CENTRAL AMERICA

OW151400 Beijing XINHUA in English 1333 GMT 15 Aug 83

[Text] Mexico City, 14 Aug (XINHUA)--Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid today implicitly criticised the U.S. policy on Central America during talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

The Mexican President criticised the biggest ever military exercises now being held by the United States off Nicaragua and in neighboring Honduras.

He described the exercises as "the demonstration of force which risk causing a conglaration" in Central America.

"We are sure," he said, "that the countries of Central America and the Caribbean will chart their own course and will act as responsible states in the regional, inter-American and world community."

Reagan said the United States believes that people of Central America "should be able to determine their own solutions and that is why we have responded to the call for help from our Latin American neighbors."

The U.S. President reiterated the U.S. support for the Contadora group (including Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama) in its efforts to safeguard peace in Central America.

Talking at a coastal resort community, about 900 miles south of San Diego, the two presidents also discussed economic cooperation and trade between the two nations.

Reagan indicated that the United States will enhance cooperation with Mexico and help it tide over its economic crisis.

They agreed that two countries will have regular meetings to "keep friendly neighboring relations."

CSO: 4000/233

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

SALVADORAN GUERRILLA LEADER MEETS U.S. ENVOY

OWO21447 Beijing XINHUA in English 1405 GMT 2 Aug 83

[Text] San Jose, 1 Aug (XINHUA)--A representative of the Salvadoran Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) said here today his meeting with U.S. special envoy Richard Stone yesterday was "strictly preparatory" and did not touch on substantials.

Ruben Zamora, member of the Political and Diplomatic Commission of the FDR told reporters, however, that the meeting had paved the way for further talks. But he said the time and place of future talks would be a secret at present as demanded by Stone.

The guerilla leader reaffirmed the opposition of the Revolutionary Democratic Front and FDR to the U.S. playing a mediatory role between the guerrilla movement and the Salvadoran Government. Because of Washington's "direct involvement in the conflict," the talks could only be held between the opposition forces in El Salvador and the Salvadoran Government plus the U.S.

Zamora said the guerrillas want to negotiate with the government on six key points--the forming of a provisional government joined by the guerrillas, social-economic reforms, resolving the problems of having two hostile armed forces, modalities of a ceasefire, how to hold elections, and the working out of a foreign policy independent of U.S. influence.

On the naval forces deployed by the U.S. in Central American waters and their forthcoming exercises, Zamora said the exercises would be "clear obstacles" on the way to a peaceful settlement of Central American issues through dialogue.

The American flotillas, he said, could only give rise of scepticism on President Reagan's sincerity of solving the conflict peacefully.

A peaceful settlement now was more urgent because the sovereignty of Central American states was being threatened, Zamora said.

CSO: 4000/228

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

CHEYSSON, CASTRO MEET ON CENTRAL AMERICAN CRISIS

OWO1842 Beijing XINHUA in English 1414 GMT 7 Aug 83

[Text] Havana, 6 Aug (XINHUA)--French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson said tonight he and Cuban leaders have reaffirmed the need for a negotiated, political settlement of the Central American crisis.

Cheysson made the remarks at a press conference before leaving here for home at the end of his three-day visit to this country.

During his stay, Cheysson held extensive and frank discussions with Cuban President Fidel Castro and other senior officials on bilateral relations and international issues, the Central America problem in particular.

Cheysson said France and Cuba support the Cancun declaration on Central America and the peace efforts of the Contadora group--Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama--aimed at bringing about a peaceful, negotiated settlement in the region.

Cheysson said France believes that without taking El Salvador into consideration, no peaceful settlement of the conflicts in the region will be attained. French Government adheres to a French-Mexican declaration that calls for talks between the Salvadoran Government and the opposition groups, Cheysson said.

He implicitly criticized the presence of U.S. naval forces in waters off Central America when he said that he doesn't see what warships have to do with a peaceful settlement in the region.

Cheysson said France is not shipping arms to Nicaragua. He said that an 18-month, 18-million-U.S. dollar agreement for arms shipments has run out and that Nicaragua has not asked for a renewal.

Referring to the French-Cuban relations, Cheysson said, "If Cuba and France, with their different political and economic systems, can have a dialogue, this would demonstrate that dialogue is possible between countries with these differences."

Before coming to Cuba, Cheysson had visited Brazil, Bolivia and Colombia. His plane also made a brief technical stop in Panama where he chatted with Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto.

BRIEFS

BOLIVIAN CABINET RESIGNS--Beijing, 6 Aug (XINHUA)--The remaining members of the Bolivian Cabinet resigned Friday to pave the way for a complete cabinet reshuffle. Bolivian Foreign Minister Marcial Tamayo said a letter of collective resignation was submitted by the 12 ministers who were still in office after six others had resigned during the last few weeks. The resignations came as President Hernan Siles Zuazo faced a continuing political crisis caused by splits in his nine-month-old coalition government. The political crisis began in January when the movement of the revolutionary left withdrew its six ministers from the 18-member cabinet. Other ministerial resignations had followed since then. The cabinet crisis also comes as Bolivia's economic woes worsen and social unrest mounts. The battered economy is now suffering from a year-long drought, the worst of the century. [Text] [OW060450 Beijing XINHUA in English 0105 GMT 6 Aug 83]

CUBAN OVERSEAS TROOP WITHDRAWAL--Beijing, 8 Aug (XINHUA)--Cuban President Fidel Castro said Sunday that Cuba will not discuss with the U.S. about their withdrawal from any country, though it will respect the decision of those countries where Cuban military advisers and troops are stationed. According to Western news agency reports, Castro told reporters before French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson ended his visit to Havana that Washington will "make a big mistake" if it thinks recent restraints displayed by Cuba and Nicaragua have been the result of U.S. show of force in Central America. "We cannot negotiate the cause of the Salvadoreans nor the cause of Nicaragua, nor can we negotiate the cause of Angola. We respect their decisions and policies." "In this sense," he said, "we cannot negotiate the withdrawal of (Cuban) advisers from Nicaragua." [Text] [OW081333 Beijing XINHUA in English 1208 GMT 8 Aug 83]

GUATEMALA MILITARY COUP--Beijing, 9 Aug (XINHUA)--Guatemalan President Efraim Rios Montt was overthrown and Defense Minister Oscar Humberto Mejia was proclaimed new president in a military coup yesterday, reports from Guatemala city said. The proclamation signed by a five-man military council composed of the country's top commanders said that "a small group of officers, through personal ambition, want to continue in government indefinitely," and accused the government of power abuse and corruption. The military council promised to continue to respect the democratic constitution and said that it will "fight for the eradication of Marxist-Leninist subversion that threatens our liberty and sovereignty." As the

coup occurred yesterday, planes and helicopters flew over the capital, tanks and armored cars cruised the streets and troops surrounded the Presidential Palace. Five soldiers and two residents were reportedly killed during a half-hour battle at the palace and then Mejia went in. President Montt's whereabouts is not immediately known. President Montt came to power in a coup on March 23, 1982. [Text] [OW090939 Beijing XINHUA in English 0808 GMT 9 Aug 83]

U.S. NAVAL EXERCISES--San Jose, 10 Aug (XINHUA)--Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge Alvarez said today that he will not accept any invitation to inspect the U.S. naval exercises in Central America. According to local press, Paul F. Gorman, commander-in-chief of the U.S. Southern Command, initiated the invitation to the Costa Rican Security Council upon his arrival yesterday. A government official told the newspaper LA REPUBLICA that "Costa Rica is not interested in such exercises," and neither the president nor officials from the Security Council will inspect the exercises. The Costa Rican Government repeatedly pointed out that the U.S. military exercises will not help create a good atmosphere for a peaceful solution to the crisis in Central America. [Text] [OW111355 Beijing XINHUA in English 1319 GMT 11 Aug 83]

NICARAGUA PROTESTS U.S. NAVAL INCURSION--Beijing, 1 Aug (XINHUA)--Nicaragua said Sunday that a U.S. guided missile frigate invaded its territorial waters several times "in a clearly provocative and offensive attitude," according to a press report. Nicaragua's Foreign Ministry charged in a communique that the U.S. frigate Clifton Sprague infiltrated the Nicaraguan waters and "has come as close as 15 miles" off the Nicaraguan coast. The communique said the frigate entered the Gulf of Fonseca which is shared by Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador. "The warlike policy that the Reagan administration and its allies insist on in the region constitutes the most serious and most direct threat to peace in the area," the communique said. Nicaragua's accusation against the U.S. provocation came on the eve of a planned visit by special U.S. envoy Richard Stone to Managua to meet leaders of the Nicaraguan [Government]. [Text] [OW012024 Beijing XINHUA in English 1858 GMT 1 Aug 83]

CSO: 4000/228

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### INTELLECTUALS CALLED MAINSTAY OF UNITED FRONT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 83 p 5

[Article by Wang Yicheng [3076 5030 6134]: "The Majesty of Intellectuals Have Always Been the Mainstay of the United Fronts"]

[Text] China's intellectuals have become a part of the proletariat. They are, like workers and peasants, a mainstay of the socialism building cause. This is indeed true. Then what role did the intellectuals actually play in the united front during the democratic revolutionary period? Were "they targeted to be united with" or were they "one of the mainstays" of the united front? Clarification of this issue will assist us to better understand the position and function of China's intellectuals.

Before the establishment of the New China, the position and function of intellectuals in the united front were determined by their class traits and their attitude toward revolution. Intellectuals did not constitute a separate class. Numerous complex factors determined the class traits of intellectuals in the old society. However, the most fundamental one is the way they made their living as well as their economic status. In "Concerning Decisions on Land Reform Issues" promulgated in 1933 by the Ruijin Democratic Central [Soviet] Government, and republished in 1948 by the Central Committee of the CPC, the class origin of intellectuals is "dependent upon the primary source of their livelihood." In the semifeudal and semicolonial old China, most intellectuals were mental laborers employed by the state or private institutions, enterprises, schools or hospitals, or they were free-agent professionals who relied upon their own mental labor to earn a living without exploiting others. They were a part of the laboring masses, equally exploited by the imperialists and Nationalist reactionaries and had marked revolutionary qualities. Naturally, because their living conditions and their means of labor were different from those of the workers and peasantry, their participation in the revolution often vacillated. However, those who adamantly served the cause of the imperialists and reactionaries were extremely few. Therefore, intellectuals for the most part should be classified as belonging to the petty bourgeoisie rather than the bourgeoisie. During the democratic revolutionary period Comrade Mao Zedong in analyzing the situation of the intellectuals already classified them as petty bourgeoisie. He said, "Young students and intellectuals are not really a class or a stratum. However, in examining their family origins, their living conditions, and their political stand, young students and contemporary Chinese intellectuals for the most part may be classified as



belonging to the domain of the petty bourgeoisie" ("The Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 604).

In the Chinese democratic revolutionary period the composition of the united front varied in accordance with each stage of the social contradiction, the state of affairs, and the task at hand. However, in examining the entire period the alliance of the workers and peasants was always the basis and mainstay of the united front, while the middle bourgeoisie was to be won over and united with. The urban petty bourgeoisie (including the majority of the intellectuals) like the middle peasants were reliable allied forces, and were a part of the alliance of workers and peasants. In discoursing upon the composition of internal class forces of the united front during the democratic revolutionary period, Mao Zedong generally cataloged the petty bourgeoisie and workers together with the peasants as the fundamental force of the united front and a progressive influence. During the War of Resistance against Japan, Mao Zedong analyzed the situation, "The left wing bloc of the People's Anti-Japanese United Front is the masses led by the CPC, including the proletariat, the peasantry, and the urban petty bourgeoisie" (Mao, op. cit., p 365). In discussing a policy for the development of progressive forces, winning over wavering forces, and opposing diehard forces, Mao pointed out, "The development of progressive forces means developing the strength of the proletariat, peasantry, and the urban petty bourgeoisie" and included "winning over the intellectuals of the entire nation" (Mao, op. cit., p 703). Mao Zedong also believed that the intellectuals together with other members of the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat and peasantry, "was the fundamental force determining the fate of the nation" and that after the revolution had been successful "would constitute a fundamental part of the nation and the regime" (Mao, op. cit., p 635). Thus, it may be seen that the majority of the intellectuals in the united front should be regarded as a mainstay of the party and that they were not targets to be united with.

In fact, from the point of view of the significance of the party's wanting to unite with the masses, it may also be said that uniting with the masses of intellectuals was exactly like wanting to unite with the masses of workers and peasants, to unite with the national bourgeoisie, and to unite with all the forces that could possibly be united. Here the word "unite" has a different connotation from the word "unite" used in the context "targeted to be united with" as part of different policies for uniting with different classes. The idea of uniting with workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie is different from uniting with wavering forces. "The peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie are to be won over as fundamental allies; the wavering forces are to be won over as anti-imperialist allies" (Mao, op. cit., p 705). Thus, the CPC's assessment of classes within the united front never tagged the majority of the intellectuals as "targeted to be united with," but found them to be fundamental allies to be treated as a part of the mainstay of the revolutionary cause.



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### NEED TO ADMIT INTELLECTUALS INTO PARTY STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by De Min [1795 3046]: "The Feeling of 'Staying Outside the Door'"]

[Text] "It is a pity that Jin Mingxin [6855 6900 2450] is not a party member, for when the plant holds its party branch conference he can only sit outside the door." This is a line from the joint statement by six workers of the decelerator plant in Ma'anshan Municipality submitted to the municipal party committee in complaint of unfairness on behalf of their deputy factory director who took part in managing their plant. For several years this 44-year old engineer expended all his energies and made considerable contributions but has been excluded and obstructed by the plant's party branch, which exhibited jealousy of the worthy and able to the point that he was not allowed to take charge of any work in the plant.

This matter has been satisfactorily resolved by the Ma'anshan municipal party committee and Jin Mingxin has been promoted from deputy factory director to factory director. This has been well supported by the people. However, I still wish to say a little more about Jin Mingxin "sitting outside the door." Whether Jin Mingxin requested admission into the party or whether he was qualified to become a party member is not clearly stated in reports and outsiders should not ask too much. But similar cases are not lacking in life. Not long ago the tragedy of suicide by poison of a 48-year old female engineer and deputy factory director Zhu Yufen [2612 3022 5358] of No 7 Chemical Plant of Beijing who took part in technical management was reported. An important cause of this tragedy was that the question of admission into the party had not been resolved. It appears that it is truly very hard for intellectuals to join the party.

Needless to say, intellectuals have many strong points and quite a few shortcomings. For example, some people think highly of themselves and are unwilling or not good at "exposing one's thoughts" to the organization. In developing party members among intellectuals we must similarly insist on standards for party members and carry out the necessary political investigation and the party's education in accordance with the demands of the party constitution among intellectuals who request admission into the party. This is beyond reproach. The problem is that some comrades who do party work have formed a

habit over the past years. They examine an important standard for request to join the party with or without enthusiasm in terms of whether one writes a lot of ideological reports, how energetic one talks to party branch secretaries and members of the organization committee, how strongly one criticizes one's own shortcomings and mistakes, and moreover, how harshly one denounces if oneself or one's relatives have a historical problem. I am afraid that this is a manifestation of the pernicious influence of the "left" in the party's organization work. The party constitution has never stipulated how many ideological reports one must write or how many party members one must talk to and seek opinions from in order to qualify to join the party. This does not mean that writing ideological reports and talking to party members are undesirable. Some people are willing to write and talk, some are used to writing and talking, and some are unwilling or not used to writing this or that report or talking to this or that person. It cannot be imposed. We can only develop party members according to the standards of the party constitution and not by establishing other standards.

Playing a trick in the question of joining the party is a stubborn line of defense among individuals who resist the implementation of the party's policy toward intellectuals. They feel uncomfortable as they watch the former "object of unity," "object of education," and "object of transformation" turning into an object of reliance. Moreover, there is an unspeakable feeling as they watch numerous comrades who have both ability and political integrity and who are in their prime being promoted to leading posts. Nevertheless this accords with the will of the people and the general trend of events and they cannot stop them even if they want to. But there is one way: You want to join the party? You still need to see me --and how can I let your power double? The excuses for bringing you down can be many: ideological examination, family investigation, correction of motives... this is called "being responsible to the party." These kinds of people within the party are not democratic, do not respect the views of the majority of party members and are extremely conceited. Such is the series of "correct reasons" to cause intellectuals who should cross the party threshold to "sit outside the door" permanently. These people who tyrannically guard the door of the party are naturally an absolute minority. However, as long as there is one or a few men guarding the pass, you will not be able to get through in 10 or 20 years. This is truly a great misfortune of the party and it has been a sequelae of "leftist" errors for many years. Solving this problem is an urgent task both for implementing the policy toward intellectuals and for correcting party work style.

The party constitution stipulates that we "do not keep those who qualify to become party members outside the party." Communist party members have no reason whatsoever to embitter comrades who are sincere and who are qualified to be party members by making them "sit outside the door." Communist party members have the responsibility to help any comrade who wishes to join the party to create the conditions for joining. No one, particularly those comrades who are responsible for developing the party organization, should ever treat what those comrades who wish to join the party seek from the party as a supplication made to himself. Please look around us. Are there still feelings similar to those of the six workers of the decelerator plant at Ma'an Shan? Are there still bitter experiences like that of Zhu Yufen of No 7 Chemical Plant in Beijing?

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GUANGMING RIBAO EXAMINES NON-CLASS ANTAGONISMS

HK080641 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Ying Kefu [2019 0344 1788]: "Probing Non-Class Antagonisms"-- passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Two kinds of antagonisms, each with a different nature, exist in human society. One of them is called class antagonism and the other is called non-class antagonism.

What are the characteristics of class antagonisms and non-class antagonisms?

"Antagonism is a form of the struggle of opposites." (Mao Zedong: "On Contradiction") Class antagonisms are the kinds of external conflicts which occur when contradictions between the exploiting classes and the exploited classes develop to a certain stage. The nature of contradictions of class antagonisms is an antagonistic one and the forms of antagonism are external expressions of this kind of antagonistic contradiction under certain conditions. The chief forms of expression are violence and armed struggle. In accordance with the theory that the basis of class antagonisms is the economic system in which men exploit men, Marxism holds that class antagonisms must be eliminated by [word indistinct] of political revolution, seizing state power, and then abolishing the system of exploitation and reforming the exploiting classes. This is the usual way to resolve class antagonisms.

Non-class antagonisms do not have the above-mentioned characteristics of class antagonisms. In order to explain this, we would like to use some examples of non-class antagonisms: Conflicts of violence among primitive tribes; armed strife among some mass organizations during the "Great Cultural Revolution" in our country; sharp conflicts and even murders caused by love entanglement or marriage; extreme behaviors of the people caused by dissatisfaction toward bureaucracy; crimes committed by teenagers out of ignorance; and other conflicts among the masses of people. There are marked differences between these non-class antagonisms and class antagonisms.

/Causes of non-class antagonisms are complicated and there are special causes for various concrete examples of non-class antagonisms./ As mentioned above, some are caused by disputes in love and marriage, some are caused by improper work methods of leaders, some are caused by contradictions of economic interests, while others are caused by improper ways for handling affairs and the

lack of ideological and ethical training of those people involved. Unlike class antagonisms, all these causes do not result from conflicts of fundamental interests between classes and therefore, causes of class antagonisms and class struggle cannot be used to explain these kinds of social antagonisms.

/Most non-class antagonisms occur among the people and are developed from contradictions among the people./ To be more specific, the causes of this kind of antagonism are not conflicts of fundamental interests and these contradictions are not of an antagonistic nature in the beginning. However, due to certain reasons, their forms of expression develop into antagonistic conflicts.

/In the socialist society, only if we grasp the causes of non-class antagonisms and do a good job in various aspects, can we control the number, scale and consequences of these antagonisms or even avoid some of them./ What happens in class antagonisms is different. As long as antagonistic classes exist, antagonisms among classes are inevitable and they can at most be temporarily mitigated somewhat. Only by means of eliminating classes in class struggle can class antagonisms be overcome.

/Non-class antagonisms clearly show the indefinite nature and instability of this antagonistic phenomenon./ These kinds of antagonisms include antagonisms with individuals as one party and other individuals, collectives, or the society as the other, as well as those with collectives as one party and other collectives, individuals, and the society as the other. These kinds of antagonisms are isolated and local phenomenon of the society, and will not develop into massive social antagonisms as in the case of class antagonisms between two classes.

/Ways and methods for overcoming and eliminating non-class antagonisms also have their own peculiarities./ Here, a very important thing is to use the legal weapon to penalize those who create these antagonisms. However, this is only a necessary means for handling this kind of antagonisms and not a fundamental way for eliminating them. In order to totally eliminate these kinds of antagonisms, we must transform the society both vertically and horizontally. This is a more protracted and arduous historical task than overthrowing and eliminating the exploiting classes. This kind of antagonism will decrease with the progress of the entire civilization of the society.

/Non-class antagonisms are a historical phenomenon which came into existence much earlier than class antagonisms./ Ruthless conflicts (primitive wars) between primitive tribes were a kind of non-class antagonism. Class antagonisms occurred only after class society appeared. After that, non-class antagonisms still existed but only played a secondary role and did not attract so much attention. With the elimination of the exploiting classes in the socialist society, class antagonisms will gradually die out, whereas non-class antagonisms will still exist over a comparatively long historical period. Therefore, the time of existence of non-class antagonisms is much longer than that of class antagonisms in history.

It must be pointed out that the above-mentioned class antagonisms are only a common formation (a complete formation) of class antagonisms and do not include special formations (remnant formations) of class antagonisms which exist after the exploiting classes have been eliminated in the socialist society. Although special formations of class antagonisms have characteristics different from the common formation of class antagonisms, both formations fall within the category of class struggle and have no difference in nature.

According to differences between social antagonisms with a different nature, we can roughly distinguish in social life what struggle are class antagonisms and what conflicts are non-class antagonisms. However, real life is quite complicated and the nature of some antagonisms can be easily distinguished while others cannot. Some social antagonisms have both factors of class struggle and non-class struggle. Therefore, it is necessary for us to compare and analyze all aspects of various factors and find out what factors are playing a dominant and decisive role before we can be sure of the nature of an antagonism. Some antagonisms may be non-class antagonisms in the beginning, but, under the influence of other factors (for example, being made use of by antagonistic elements), they may develop into class antagonisms. This means that non-class antagonisms may be made use of by class antagonisms and will turn into class antagonisms under certain conditions. We must keep a watchful eye on this.

In socialist society, there are two types of social antagonisms which are different in nature. Therefore, the functions of dictatorship within the state comprise two aspects: Class dictatorship and non-class dictatorship. Comrade Mao Zedong said in his article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People": "The functions of dictatorship within the state is "to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction, or in other words, to resolve the contradictions between ourselves and the internal enemy. For instance, to arrest, try, and sentence certain counterrevolutionaries, and to deprive landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists of their right to vote and their freedom of speech for a certain period of time--all this comes within the scope of our dictatorship. To maintain public order and safeguard the interests of the people, it is necessary to exercise dictatorship as well over thieves, swindlers, murders, arsonists, criminal gangs and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order." He added: "Law breakers among the people will be punished according to law, but this is different in principle from the exercise of dictatorship to suppress enemies of the people." Here, Comrade Mao Zedong practically pointed out the two different aspects of dictatorship and held that they are "different in principle."

In socialist society, especially in an economically backward country like China, it is impossible to accumulate a great deal of social wealth within a short period of time and impossible for people to raise tremendously their ideological consciousness and moral standard, to adopt a communist attitude toward assignment of tasks and distribution of consumer goods, and to consciously observe public order and safeguard the interests of the public. This calls for the establishment of an organ which is capable of urging people to observe the law.

Various types of complicated social contradictions exist in socialist society. Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of the two types of social contradictions has greatly enhanced the people's understanding of the complicated contradictions in socialist society. The report to the 12th CPC National Congress also pointed out explicitly that most of the contradictions in our country are not of the nature of class struggle. This has again helped people understand more clearly the complicated contradictions in socialist society. Studying the two types of social antagonisms of different natures is highly essential to our study of the two types of social contradictions of different [words indistinct], our study of social contradictions which are not of the nature of class struggle, and our correct handling of complicated social contradictions.

CSO: 4005/1089



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DEFENSE S&T CADRES STUDY TECHNICAL SUBJECTS ON JOB

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 83 p 2

[Article: "Leading Organs of the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission Organize Cadres To Integrate Their Professional Work Characteristics With Inservice Self-Study of Technical Secondary School Courses"]

[Text] Beginning in 1980, the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission has organized the engineer and technical cadres in its system who do not possess a technical secondary school record to engage in inservice self-study of technical secondary school courses. In the past 2 years over 2,100 persons, or 73 percent of the cadres in this category, have taken part in this study. According to statistics gathered before October of last year, 501 persons have obtained through tests pass certificates in 1 to 6 courses. In the fourth quarter of last year, the commission ran a special course in high-frequency electric circuits for 46 persons who had passed 6 courses and, after they qualified in tests, awarded them technical secondary school diplomas.

So that the engineering and technical cadres would do well in inservice self-study, the commission, proceeding from the reality in its system, decided to run a course in the electronic technology specialty. The scope for making use of this specialty is wide, and it is useful in communications, radar, telemetry, and remote control, meeting the requirements of about 60 percent of the engineering and technical cadres. The commission selected and printed teaching materials for 10 courses--mathematics, physics, higher mathematics, basic electrical engineering, basic electronics technology, pulse and digital electric circuits, high-frequency electric circuits, specialized mathematics, mechanical drawing, and English--and gave every person taking part in self-study one copy. It decided that the cadre schools in its system would be the testing units. April and September of every year are the times for standardized examinations. The work of organizing every examination and grading the examination papers is the responsibility of the examination leading groups at the level of division organization or higher in the units.

Because self-study by cadres on the job is different from study away from the job, the educational level, the degree of busyness in his work, and the amount of household duties are very different for the people taking part in the study. Paying attention to these characteristics, the commission used flexible

methods in organizing the cadres' self-study. It changed the originally set 10 courses to 7 required courses (standardized examination) and 3 elective courses (no examination). Every person may decide for himself what course to take, and a uniform rate of progress is not necessarily insisted upon. When the examination for a course is passed, the school issues a single qualification certificate. After qualifying in six courses, the cadre finally concentrates on the centralized training class on high-frequency electric circuits in the seventh course and, after qualifying by examination, is given a secondary technical school diploma. After the above-mentioned fairly flexible methods were adopted, the number of cadres signing up for courses has increased. The method of giving a qualification certificate for each course that has been learned well makes the cadres feel that their study has good prospects.

In order to satisfy the demands by the engineering and technical cadres for self-study on the job, the commission this year ran one class in mechanical engineering and two classes in computer software.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### TEN UNIVERSITIES TO TRY NEW GRADUATE ASSIGNMENT METHOD

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 May 83 p 3

[Report by Beijing RENMIN RIBAO staff reporter, Bi Quanzhong [3968 0356 1813]]

[Text] In accordance with a decision by the Ministry of Education, the 12 specialized curricula of 10 universities and colleges, including the Beijing University, will adopt a method of student job assignment based on personal interviews with hiring units. While drawing up its current year plan to assign jobs to graduates of institutes of higher learning, the State Planning Commission discovered that departmental committees, provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions had a reduced need for graduates from some specialized programs and that if graduates were assigned according to the old plan they would work in fields other than their specialties. Thus, the Ministry of Education decided on an assignment method based on demand and interviews. The specialized programs and schools involved are as follows: The Astrophysics Program (offered by Beijing University and Nanjing University); the Astrometry Program (offered by Nanjing University); the Celestial Mechanics Program (offered by Nanjing University); the Spatial Physics Program (of Beijing University); the Astronomy Program (offered by Beijing Teachers University); the Oceanography Program (at Xiamen University and at Shandong Oceanography College); the Marine Chemistry Program (offered by Xiamen University); the Laser Technology Program (offered by Tianjin University and Central China Engineering College); the Gas Discharge Apparatus Program (offered by Nanjing Engineering College); the Electrical Vacuum Apparatus and Technology Program (offered by Nanjing Engineering College, Zhejiang University and South China Engineering College); the Semiconductor-Physics Apparatus Program (given by Tianjin University, Central China Engineering College and South China Engineering College); and the Ship/Shipyard Electrification and Automation Program (offered by Central China Engineering College). The students are majors of 4-year specialized studies and will be graduated this summer.

The method for assigning jobs to graduates of these specialized programs is as follows: the schools and prospective hiring units will communicate directly. The schools concerned will present recommendations to the Ministry of Education. The personnel at the Ministry of Education responsible for this arrangement stated that the purpose of this method is to gain a comprehensive understanding of the needs of society so that the graduates of these programs will be able to make full use of what they have studied, and by trying this method, a way of reforming graduate job assignments will be found.

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### EDITORIAL ON YOUTH POLITICAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

HK050429 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 28 Jul 83 p 1

[Editorial: Carry out Ideological and Political Work Among Young Workers in Accordance With the 'Program']

[Text] The "Provisional Program for Ideological and Political Work Among Workers in State-run Enterprises" has been published. The program systematically analyzes and expounds the historical status and responsibility of the working class in our country and the importance of strengthening ideological and political work among workers, which will guarantee the development of our socialist economy. The program also prescribes principles that ideological and political work in enterprises must follow. It is an important document that guides us to strengthen and improve our ideological and political work among workers in enterprises in the new period of building socialist modernization. CYL organizations at all levels must earnestly study this document. Not only the league organizations in enterprises, but also the league organizations on other fronts should handle their work according to this document so as to strengthen and improve ideological and political work among youths in a more effective way.

The program points out: The working class in our country is a leading class and constitutes a main force in the modernization drive. The working class is shouldering important historical responsibility for the future and destiny of our nation. At present, young workers below age 35 account for about two-thirds of the total number of workers throughout the country. Most of them are working in the forefront of production and construction, and have become a backbone and main force in production and construction. The important duty of handling modern industrial production and construction has fallen to them. The program explicitly points out: "Leading bodies at all levels should place stress on young workers when handling ideological and political work among workers in enterprises." Focusing ideological and political work on young workers will add more responsibility to CYL organizations in enterprises. These CYL organizations must adapt themselves to this new situation and the new requirements. They should, under the leadership of party committees, join efforts with trade unions to fulfill this glorious and arduous task.

Since the 11th CYL National Congress, along with the vigorous development of various reforms in enterprises, CYL organizations have strengthened ideological and political work among young workers. However, as compared with the party's requirements, there is still a considerable gap, and the problems of being not courageous in and not good at handling ideological and political work still exist in some organizations. When discovering negative ideas among young workers, some CYL organizations dare not touch upon these problems and simply adopt an evasive attitude; other organizations, though indeed bothering about the problems, fail to achieve satisfactory results because their methods are not suitable. Now, the program provides us with a powerful weapon to change this inefficient condition. On the one hand, the requirements set in the program for the working class will inevitably evoke strong repercussions among workers, including among young workers, and thus will effectively enhance the workers' sense of responsibility as masters of the country; on the other hand, the guiding thought and the methods of work put forward by the program will help us remain sober-minded so that we will be able to grasp key links and improve our skill in handling ideological and political work. Hence, so long as we can earnestly act according to the program, we will certainly be able to open up a new phase in the ideological and political work of the CYL organizations in enterprises.

According to the program, the basic contents of ideological and political work in enterprises can be divided into two aspects: 1) systematical education in patriotism, collectivism, socialism, and communism; and 2) day-to-day ideological and political education. Through education in these two aspects, we will help all members of the working class to enhance their political consciousness, perfect their moral standards, and increase their knowledge of ability to understand and transform the world. In order to conduct education in the two aspects, CYL organizations will have to do a great deal of work. Recently, the CPC central propaganda department and the CPC central secretariat's research office jointly issued a document entitled "Opinions on Strengthening Education in Patriotism." CYL organizations at all levels should earnestly study this document. Conducting deepgoing, prolonged, and extensive education in patriotism should be an important work task not only for CYL organizations in enterprises, but also for CYL organizations in other trades. Education in patriotic ideology involves substantive contents: The long history and brilliant civilization of the motherland, outstanding figures, revolutionary traditions, our country's land of charm and beauty, our rich resources and precious mineral deposits, achievements of modern construction, and new standards of public conduct, all are subjects that will arouse the patriotic enthusiasm of the youths and encourage them to dedicate themselves to the motherland. Patriotism provides a foundation for the youths to grow up into communists. CYL organizations at all levels must conduct education in patriotism in a planned, orderly, and down-to-earth way and must ensure that this education can be conducted vigorously and can bring about positive results.

CYL organizations in enterprises should, according to the program's requirements, organize groups of propaganda staff, lecturers, instructors, storytellers, and book-commentators, who constitute mass contingents engaged in propaganda work, so as to mobilize as many people as possible to handle political and ideological work. At the same time, it is necessary to create

an active and vigorous atmosphere so as to make ideological and political work more natural and more acceptable. Experience shows that book-reading activities, lecturing activities, and all sorts of spare-time cultural and sports activities are all effective forms that can attract, unite, and educate youths and can help them resist erosive influence on their minds. CYL organizations should make more efforts to organize more activities in varied forms.

The sphere of ideological and political work is unlimitedly broad and wide. CYL organizations can certainly play a major role in this field. This work is also an art. Only by earnest and hard studies can we handle it with high proficiency. Let us start to study and work earnestly so that we can really act as assistants to the party in handling ideological and political work among workers.

CSO: 4005/1089

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PROFESSORS RULING SCHOOLS DISCUSSED

Beijing WENZHAI BAO in Chinese No 86, 27 May 83 p 3

[Article: "'Professors Rule School' Does Not Negate Party Leadership"]

[Text] Deng Guangmin [6772 1684 6900] published an article in the fourth issue of ZHONGYANG MENGXUN in which he quoted a passage from BEIDA XIAOKAN [the Beijing University Journal]: "Although spring has come, it is still hard to avoid minor cold fronts. Several years ago, there was a trend of bourgeois liberalization which negated the four fundamental principles. There were also people in educational circles advocating 'professors rule the school.' This is a tendency that negates party leadership."

Deng Guangmin states, "The passage quoted above was published in the Beijing University Journal and at the very least reflects the opinion of some school officials. The so-called idea of 'professors rule the school,' I believe was one of the ways to bring the intellectuals' role into full play and it was one of the proposals to improve institutions of higher learning. It may either be accepted or rejected as one pleases, because it is an issue of 'let a hundred schools of thought contend' which does not attempt to 'negate party leadership' nor to 'gainsay the four fundamental principles.'"

He believes that different opinions about "professors ruling the school" are due to different interpretations. The majority of people would naturally disagree with the idea of having the management of institutions of higher learning and all kinds of routine work inflicted upon professors. On the other hand, if it means that professors would have responsibility for designing and deciding policies related to the central work of teaching and research, then it would be highly beneficial. The intellectuals nowadays, just as the workers and peasants, are a force upon which the party depends. The professors among the advanced intellectuals should not be treated as bourgeoisie. The idea of professors ruling the school should not be seen as antagonistic to party leadership.

CSO: 4005/899

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PLA AIRMEN TAKING COLLEGE-LEVEL COURSES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 83 p 2

[Article: "Nearly 100,000 Personnel of Air Force Units Are Diligently Studying College Courses"]

[Text] Nearly 100,000 personnel of the PLA Air Force units are diligently studying college and university courses, and the number of personnel and broadness of scope are unprecedented in the history of the People's Air Force.

Since 1981, when the air force units began to get a grip on training talent, there have been nearly 500,000 person-times of participation in study through correspondence, television, published instruction, and spare-time universities. At the same time, many military, political, and technical cadres have pursued advanced studies in military and political academies and schools and in all sorts of specialized training units, and thereby the intellectual and specialization levels of the cadre ranks of the air force units have been markedly raised. At present, 45 percent of the cadres holding regimental-level posts have been trained in academies and schools, and 34 percent of the cadres at the army or division level. The number in the technical cadres ranks who have been trained in academies and schools is developing in the direction of a "complete set."

The air force units train talent by the following six methods: 1) vigorously running military academies and specialized training units in which many cadres are enrolled with temporary leave from their posts; 2) organizing personnel at their posts to engage in various kinds of spare-time study; 3) on the basis of popularization, launching the selection of the best for professional school training; 4) prolonging the length of study in schools by flying personnel and other specialized cadets, so as to let them lay a good foundation of cultural and scientific knowledge in preflight schools; and 5) having the flying dadui commanders of all fighter plane units preset their objectives and then send them to flying schools to study tactics, technology, and staff works and commands. In order to launch a study of foreign air forces, it is necessary to select for foreign-language training a number of pilots whose flying skills are good, who are young, and who have a high degree of education; and 6) launching correspondence school education.

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CSO: 4005/939



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ENFORCEMENT OF PUBLIC RULES AND REGULATIONS URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 83 p 5

[Article by Shu Lin [2579 2651]: "Never 'Pay Lip Service'"]

[Text] This is a common phenomenon: Under the signs "do not dump garbage" and "do not park bicycles" there are still a pool of garbage and a stretch of bicycles. No one interferes and no one minds. It is as if those signs simply do not exist.

These are still trivial matters. But then, what about important ones? Similarly, for important things such as the banning of indiscriminate lumbering and indiscriminate increase of prices which concern the national economy and the people's livelihood, even after concerned departments issue notices and stipulations, formulate decrees and regulations and give repeated injunctions, some people still brazenly and openly violate them without being dealt with promptly and effectively. These are common occurrences.

What causes the problem? The causes are numerous. I believe an important one is that despite the announcement of various stipulations and notices and despite all kinds of decrees and regulations being formulated, there is no or very little earnest and strict supervision. Even when they discover violations of notices and stipulations and conduct that is harmful to decrees and regulations, concerned departments do not care and do not question them, or they act perfunctorily as a mere matter of form in performing their duties, just as it is said in the actor's lines: "Slap the hand softly several times and that is it." This results in decrees that are not carried out and bans that are not imposed. As things continued this way, notices, stipulations, decrees and regulations as well as those signs have all become ineffective. Without any choice, people cannot but give them a fair evaluation, calling it "lip service."

A major defect in the work style of our leaders is talking much and doing little, giving numerous instructions but little inspection. Rather than giving injunctions and notices one after another in dealing with a matter, it is better to follow the already announced notices and stipulations and implement them conscientiously and get real results.

Scribbling and drawing on cultural relics and historical sites is an old problem which cannot be stopped despite the announcement of some notices for park visits as well as stipulations of fines. Early this year the administrative office of the Summer Palace in Beijing strictly implemented various stipulations. Those who were caught scribbling and drawing on public structures would be dealt with according to stipulations, and for those who were not caught on the spot their units and names left on ancient structures would be photographed and sent to their home units and fines would be collected. This truly yielded results and the phenomenon of doing damage to cultural relics has greatly been reduced.

The recent incident at Shuangchengbao Station is also a glaring example. For a long time the long-standing problem of loading rail freight has not been resolved. After the incident, usual practice would involve nothing more than issuing a notice with a few words of criticism and making a few regulations and the case would be closed. Even if the matter was dealt with it would be no more than deducting someone's monetary reward of the month. This time, leading comrades of the Party Central Committee took up the matter personally and supervised concerned departments to deal with it strictly. Not only was this incident resolved quickly but it also played a role in improving the loading and unloading of rail freight.

Stalin once said: "Leadership--it is not equivalent to writing resolutions and issuing instructions. Leadership--it is the way that checks on guidance are carried out." These are words of experience which deserve to be practiced by our leading cadres.

9586

CSO: 4005/972



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

COAL MINISTRY SETS UP EDUCATION COMMITTEE

OW090936 Beijing XINHUA in English 0755 GMT 9 Aug 83

[Text] Beijing, 9 Aug (XINHUA)--China's ministry of coal industry has set up an advisory committee on education, according to today's GUANGMING DAILY.

The committee of 60 senior engineers, professors and officials will discuss and revise the ministry's education development programs on a scientific basis.

The committee includes sub-committees for tertiary, secondary technical and sparetime education.

The advisory committee will hold one or two symposiums on academic research each year.

CSO: 4000/234

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HE DONGCHANG CALLS FOR MORE VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

OW081343 Beijing XINHUA in English 1148 GMT 8 Aug 83

[Text] Beijing, 8 Aug (XINHUA correspondent Qin Xinmin)--China will increase the proportion of vocational school students to other senior middle school students from the present 1:3 to 1:1 by 1990.

The suggestion, made by Minister of Education He Dongchang at a recent national conference on general education in Beijing, is based on investigations in China's needs in economic development. While college enrollment is limited and vocational training is lacking in high school, a majority of school graduates who cannot advance to college need an apprenticeship which is both costly and time-consuming.

At the conference, some 200 education administrators and school representatives shared experience of restructuring secondary education.

According to statistics of the education ministry, China had 703,600 students in vocational and agricultural high schools last year. These and the students in secondary technical schools and schools for training skilled workers accounted for 26.3 percent of the total number receiving senior secondary education. The students in regular high schools totalled 6,405,000.

Liaoning, an industrial province in northeast China, has increased the proportion of vocational school students to regular senior middle school students from 1:49 four years ago to the present 1:1.5, to become a pioneer in this change.

The province in the past year has increased the number of those studying management, bookkeeping, service and civil engineering, to suit [word indistinct] to employment needs. Vocational school graduates have been highly praised by their employers.

The East China city of Suzhou boasts slightly greater number of vocational school students than that of regular senior middle school students. In keeping with local industrial structure, most vocational schools offer courses in textiles, electronics, handicrafts, tourism service and other labor intensive industries.

Many rural counties have also changed over a number of regular high schools to vocational and agricultural schools, combining book knowledge with practice.

Some conference participants pointed out that vocational education gives big returns. A raw lacquer school in Hubei Province has become self-supporting by planting lacquer trees and raising seedlings.

CSO: 4000/234

ANALYSIS OF LI XIUCHENG'S MEMORIAL OF 1858

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Yu Mingxia [0151 2494 0204]: "Discriminating Analysis of Li Xiucheng's Request for Reform"]

[Text] The evaluation of Li Xiucheng's rightness and wrongness or merits and demerits in circles of historians is one of disagreement whether to praise or disparage him, and the differences in opinion are large. Based on the sections in his "Self-Account" in which he admonished the Heavenly King to "rule the people with compassion" and "rely on the ancient way of ruling the four quarters with kindness" ("Li Xiucheng's Autobiography") some people think that this was a prelude to his later "recantation and surrender." To be sure, after Li Xiucheng was captured in July 1864, before his enemies he "toadied and begged for mercy" and "begged that his life be spared" ("Official Complete Works of Zeng Wenzheng," Vol 11"), and by this in the history of his life he wrote an extremely inglorious page. However, can we assert categorically based on this that his memorial of admonishment 6 years previously was an indication that he would beg to surrender in the future? I think the answer should be in the negative.

The original text of Li Xiucheng's memorial is:

"At this time, I am a noble of the Heavenly Kingdom with the authority of deputy commander and I lead troops under my command. I see that the county is in disorder and confusion and that my ruler is covered with dust. With my utmost strength I make this memorial of admonishment, respectfully urging my ruler to select and make use of talented men, fix a system of compassion in dealing with the people, state strict laws and decrees, sternly rectify the dynastic program, clearly rectify the system of rewards and punishments, and with the old system treat with compassion all quarters; I urge the ruler to treat those below with 'li' and compassion, mete out lenient punishments in all places, lighten the grain tax burden on the common people, and give important posts to the Assistant King and not make use of the kings of Anhui and Fujian. Therefore, I have made this memorial of admonition, and am prepared to be removed from my office if the ruler so deigns. Afterward, I will duplicate my memorial, explaining its source in the general trend of events. The text of my memorial has passed through the hands of court officials, who saw that the parts were clear and smooth, and the court officials personally went

to the palace to present the memorial of admonition and I have returned to my post."

From the above we can see that the basic motive behind this memorial of Li Xiucheng's was that, because the "country was in chaos and the ruler covered with dust," he was doing his duty as an official, and nothing else, in order to correct mistakes and make up deficiencies.

#### Recommend the Worthy and Bestow Office on the Competent, Put the Assistant King in an Important Position

Seeing the actual situation in the later stage of the Heavenly Kingdom in which the king's relatives and nobles manipulated power for personal ends leading to political gains and losses, Li Xiucheng thought that the worthy must be used if the nation were to be saved from subjugation and its survival ensured. Thus, he recommended to the Heavenly King Assistant King Shi Dakai, whom Li held in high esteem. After the Yangwei Incident, the Assistant King was the only person who rendered outstanding service in the great achievements of the Jintian Uprising period. In military affairs, Shi Dakai was "highly astute and resourceful," was brave and skillful in battle, and was always dreaded by his enemies. Zeng Guofan said that he was the "best of all the traitors in craftiness and boldness." (Ibid) Politically, Shi "did not go in much for teaching the perverse religious sect's vulgar doctrines" ("Official Collected Works of Zuo Wenhui") and he was not bound by religious prejudice, but was "rather inclined to consider urgent the ties to popular feeling and the seeking of talent." (Ibid) In the autumn of 1853, when he received orders to administer Anhui, he was able to judge the hour and size up the situation and initiate reforms. In personal matters, because Shi Dakai's ability and virtues were admired by all, the ministers at the Heavenly Kingdom court "were delighted at his loyalty and recommended him as a just king." Even though he was an intellectual deeply influenced by some feudal orthodox ideas, the Assistant King possessed a definite appeal. Zuo Zongtang [one of the major figures in the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion] cried out in alarm that in Jiangxi Shi was able "to control the literati and officialdom and compel them to follow the rebellion." (Ibid) Therefore, he obviously was a key figure who was able to accomplish things and unite the interior.

However, ice and charcoal are incompatible in a stove, sweet-smelling grasses and foul-smelling plants are incompatible in a dish. There was no way that Shi Dakai could work together in the same court with the king's eldest brother, Hong Renfa, and his second brother, Hong Renda, who had "neither talent nor plans" and were infamous for their stupidity, corruption and greed. Therefore, in his memorial Li Xiucheng admonished the Heavenly King "not to use the Anhui and Fujian kings." From the standpoint of keeping the king's relatives apart from the worthies, and of exalting the righteous and dismissing the depraved, this was, of course, correct. Emperor Taizong had a saying: "If a person has no talent, even if he is your relative do not use him, if a person has a talent, even if he is your enemy do not dismiss him." ("Zi Zhi Tong Jian" [History as a Mirror], Vol 194). Regrettably, Hong Xiuquan did not have this tolerance and courage, and this meant that he could not accept Li Xiucheng's suggestion that "only worthy people be used," and thus he could not

give important posts to "first-class military talent" and "political talent" like Shi Dakai who could have remedied the perilous situation that was going from bad to worse. After this, although Hong Rengan had the will to make reforms, his financial strength, courage and resourcefulness, and prestige did not match those of the Assistant King, and so it was impossible for him to succeed, and this was inevitable.

"Deal With Subordinates With 'Li' and 'Compassion'" and "Select Talented People and Use Them"

In order to select and enlist the services of able and wise literati that would make the Heavenly Kingdom court effective, Li Xiucheng admonished and asked the Heavenly King to "deal with subordinates with 'li' and 'compassion'" and "select talented people and use them." After the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom established its dynasty in Tianjing, it enlisted talents through the civil service examination system, put up notices in various places, and solicited worthy people and talented people in many ways. However, looking at the actual situation, this effort often became a mere formality or became a routine matter, and was unable to produce tangible results. However, if one wants to rejuvenate a county and reconstruct a nation, one will find it absolutely unfeasible without persons of outstanding ability assisting the ruler in governing the country. For this reason, Li Xiucheng hoped that the Heavenly King would follow the example of the ancients in deigning to seek worthy people in many ways in order to select talented people and use them.

The "li" that Li Xiucheng was talking about was the "li" of the landlord class, the "li" of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and therefore it was rejected by the Heavenly King in order to uphold revolutionary principles and standpoints. It requires little argument to show that this was obviously a case of taking the word too literally and drawing a far-fetched false analogy. It is perfectly clear that Li Xiucheng's meaning was for the king to cordially invite talented people in an attitude of modesty and sincerity. It must be pointed out that there truly existed in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom a serious defect with regard to the question of treating intellectuals. To the end, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom dynasty did not select and appoint to important posts many persons of outstanding ability, and this fact can be checked in history. Li Xiucheng once compared certain differences between the two sides, among which an extremely important point was that the Qing (Manchu) army "made much use of scholars," and the Taiping army "did have scholars." The meaning of the so-called "did not have" was that scholars were unable to get important positions. Although the reasons for this are many-sided, that it lacked a clear, workable policy is a fact that allows of no denial.

"Fix a System of Compassion for the People," "State Strict Laws and Decrees"

Li Xiucheng's personal history was one of military action, "engaging in a punitive expedition for years in succession," and he knew very well the "sufferings of the people" in various places. At the beginning of the Taiping army's uprising, its discipline was strict and impartial, and "on the march it observed the law." However, in the later period the army's discipline was destroyed, cases of "harming the people by burning and killing" occurred

constantly. In "Jun Ci Shi Lu," Hong Rengen discussed these things. In a poem entitled "Edict to the Troops," he wrote:

By edict I advise my troops not to act rashly,  
And at all times to respect the people's property.  
Only he who, anxious about rape, burning, and destruction,  
Warns against them can deserve the name of holy chief leader.

Li Xiucheng was keenly aware that an army whose discipline was lax was an army who could not gain the people's support and had no fighting capacity to speak of. So he suggested, on the one hand, that the Heavenly King "state strict laws and decrees" and investigate and deal strictly with those who violate them; on the other hand, he suggested that the Heavenly King "fix a system of solicitude for the people," i.e., establish a legal system that would be followed from top to bottom. Thus, the army's discipline would be rectified and solicitude would be shown for the people. Only in this way would he be able to restore the prestige of the Heavenly Kingdom dynasty and regain the lost support of the people.

Of course, to do only this would still be insufficient, as the king had to "solemnly correct the dynastic program" and "clearly correct rewards and punishments." In this way, a political atmosphere in which everybody knew what determined efforts were being made and what was encouraged, and had a high spirit toward superiors, could certainly be swiftly formed. However, the Heavenly King could not accept these ideas; the dynastic program broke down, rewards and punishments were unfair, in the end causing serious "disorder in the dynastic government" day by day.

#### Reform Harsh Laws, Regain Influence

The criminal law of the Heavenly Kingdom was harsh and also had not been revised for a long time, so among the masses of people there was created bad repercussions and a greater and greater centrifugal force. For their foes they had long had "bogus laws of extreme cruelty" and "inhumanly cruel treatment of the people," which was bound to lead to a forecast of disaster and extinction. Their main drawbacks were that corporal punishment was cruel, brutal and unrestrained; that special license to slay without authority was intentionally made legal; that they extorted confessions by torture and came up with countless unjust law cases; etc. Thus, the laws were unsuitable for the arrests, the punishments were unsuitable for the crimes, the innocent were punished, and good people were executed by mistake--all these things were common occurrences.

Based on the above-mentioned reasons, Li Xiucheng advocated "lenient punishment in all places," and without a doubt this was correct. It must be pointed out that the so-called "lenient punishment" did not mean the abolition of punishments, but was, proceeding from the fundamental interests of the revolution, a deliberately reasoned measure to decrease some cruel punishments in order to regain influence.



## Put Into Practice Good Government, Treat All Sides With Kindness

Li Xiucheng hoped that the Heavenly King would be able, after making wide inquiries and complete plans, to vigorously carry out reforms, so he used general language to put forward his suggestion to "institute the old system in order to treat all sides with compassion." However, some commentators think that the purpose behind "instituting the old system" was to restore the political system of feudal rule and that the purpose behind "treating all sides with compassion" was to bestow favors on the landlord class, and therefore this passage was really no different than an attempt to change the nature of the peasants' revolutionary regime and to put into effect a "general program" of overall capitulation to the feudal enemy. Therefore, it was scathingly criticized by the Heavenly King. This article maintains that this thesis is contrary to historical facts:

First, looking at history we see that Liu Bang and Zhu Yuanzhang, to different degrees, made memorials similar in content to Li Xiucheng's memorial. If we look at the key measures Li Zicheng took in the closing years of the Ming dynasty, after being defeated, to escape danger and attain safety and to turn defeat into victory, the situation will become even clearer. It is written in the "Ming Ji Bei Lue" that Li Yan said to Li:

"If you want to do great things, you must first respect the worthy and show courtesy to the literati, eschew violence and treat the people with compassion.... First, with regard to the land tax, you should levy only half of the original amount, and then the common people will gladly return to your service"; "Zicheng heeded his advice and did so." Also, in the "History of the Ming: Biography of Li Zicheng," it is written that Li Yan advised Zicheng: "If you want to rule the country take the will of the people as the root; do not kill people and you will get the heart of the country," "Zicheng followed his advice and reduced the slaughter." Therefore, the "followers of Zicheng became more numerous each day." It may well be asked, how much intrinsic difference is there between these policies--"respecting and treating courteously the worthy and the literati, eschewing violence and treating the people with compassion," easing and reducing the land tax, and strictly prohibiting killing and plundering--and the content of Li Xiucheng's memorial to Hong Xiuquan? And what difference is there between the goals of "instituting the old system in order to treat all sides with compassion" and "if you want to rule the country take the will of the people as the key"?

Second, about Xiang Yu, one of the leaders of peasant uprisings in the last years of the Qin dynasty, Sima Qian in his "Historical Records" sums up the reason for Xiang Yu's defeat and overthrow as "acting on his own wits and not being guided by the past." The so-called "not being guided by the past" means not "relying on the old system." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The support or opposition of the people's will" is an important premise for victory or defeat in war, and to get the support of the masses one must "get the trust of the people." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War") However, how is one to get the broad masses of people to stand on one's side? Different eras, different classes each require different policies, tactics, and measures. Because the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom movement still belonged in the category

of old-style peasant revolutions, and because Li Xiucheng suffered from historical limitations, he was only able to propose that the "old system" of "making a policy of benevolence the central policy" be put into practice. If one is only bound by the wording and holds that he was trying to change the nature of the revolution by practicing a policy of class capitulation, then how could this, measured by reason, be an unbiased view?

Summing up what has been said above, there is nothing worthy of great blame in each part of Li Xiucheng's memorial asking for reforms. That the Heavenly King rejected remonstrances and glossed over errors, besides the fact that he was blinded by religious prejudice, was because he was self-willed, "taking remonstrances from others on no matter whatsoever." Specific cases in point are not only shown in his attitude in dealing with Li Xiucheng, but also shown when in 1859 Hong Rengan proposed reforms, in the "Zi Zheng Xin Pian" he hoped that the Heavenly King would not make decisions arbitrarily on his own authority but would first contact his top ministers and "after their opinions are fixed make his own contribution"; he also suggested that the Heavenly King "stand on the side of dispassionate admonition and arbitration" in order to equip himself with advisers, to which Hong Xiuquan also basically paid no heed.

9727

CSO: 4005/934

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HANDICAPPED PEOPLE BEGIN BEIJING CONFERENCE

OW290027 Beijing XINHUA in English 1157 GMT 29 Jun 83

[Text] Beijing, 29 Jun (XINHUA)--One hundred and sixteen blind persons and deaf-mutes with outstanding contributions from all over the country began a meeting here today.

Among them are a 27-year-old deaf-mute policeman, Xu Zeming, a good hand in catching pickpockets; 35-year old Zhou Jiati, a noted blind poet; senior engineers and artists either blind or deaf-mute; blind massagers; and blind persons who serve as leaders at grassroots units.

The conference is sponsored by the Chinese Association for the Blind and Deaf-mutes to commend the outstanding disabled persons. The national association leads about 2,000 branch associations and groups in the country. A leader of the conference told XINHUA, the organizations with support from governments at all levels have helped build links between the governments and the blind, deaf and mute.

This is the first such meeting ever held in China. During the seven-day meeting, the disabled persons will exchange their experience in doing their part for the motherland, the leader said. Ways of helping more disabled persons find jobs and raise their educational level will be also discussed, the leader said.

Most handicapped people in Chinese cities who can work have been employed but many of them are illiterate. The conference called for greater efforts to wipe out illiteracy among handicapped workers by 1985.

Attending the conference are also a group of able-bodied persons who have made outstanding contributions in serving the blind, deaf and mute.

The organizer of the conference has invited several specialists in sign-language to act as interpreters for the deaf-mutes. As Wu Qian, president of the Chinese Association for the Blind and Deaf-mutes, addressed the meeting this morning, two of the specialists standing on the platform were interpreting for the deaf-mutes present.

CSO: 4000/234

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HANDICAPPED PEOPLE IN URBAN XIZANG EMPLOYED

OW021202 Beijing XINHUA in English 1148 GMT 2 Jul 83

[Text] Beijing, 2 Jul (XINHUA)--All blind and deaf mute people in the urban areas of Tibet able to work are now employed, according to Qoipei, a Tibetan official now in Beijing.

Qoipei, a leader in the preparatory committee of the Tibet Autonomous Regional Association for the Blind and Deaf-mute, heads the Tibetan delegation attending a national conference on outstanding disabled persons now in session here.

Tibet has a population of 1.94 million, with more than 17,000 blind and deaf-mute people. The urban handicapped are mainly employed in sewing, printing, house-building and other fields, Qoipei said. There are 500 blind and deaf-mute people in Lhasa, he added. Most of them now work in tailor shops, restaurants, factories and other production centers, or as individual craftsmen. In rural areas, the handicapped people are given suitable jobs by local production organizations. All receive equal pay for equal work, Qoipei said.

Those who cannot work are given their monthly living expenses by governments at different levels.

However, Qoipei said, there are still a few people in some villages and factories in Tibet who look down upon the handicapped. "After we return to Tibet, we will make greater efforts to spread knowledge about the state's principles and policies on handicapped people, to work for the improvement of working and living conditions and raise the social position of the handicapped," Qoipei said.

CSO: 4000/234

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ROLE OF PUBLICATION WORK IN TWO MODERNIZATIONS

HK110700 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Yuan Liang [5913 0081]: "The Role of Publication Work in Developing and Building Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] "Decisions on strengthening publication work" recently issued by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council is an important document which will guide publication work for a certain period in the future.

#### 1. Ladder and Lever

Publication is always closely connected with the civilization and progress of mankind. It is an important result of the civilization and development of mankind, and an important tool for promoting the progress of mankind. The "decisions" points out: "Books are a ladder for the progress of mankind," "books and periodicals are important means for disseminating ideas, culture and sciences." All these conclusions are correct.

The occurrence of publication and printing undertakings was another leap in the history of mankind following the invention of characters. They greatly developed and enhanced the role of spoken and written languages in accumulating spiritual results. Marx pointed out: The art of printing is the most powerful lever which creates essential prerequisites for spiritual development." (Marx: "Machines, Natural Force, and the Application of Sciences," People's Publishing House, 1978, p 67) By making use of this lever, mankind disseminates far and wide its ideas and knowledge. Spiritual wealth of a person or a minority of persons can be turned more rapidly into spiritual wealth of more people in the society. Spiritual wealth of people of a given generation can be smoothly turned into spiritual wealth of people of succeeding generations. In addition, on the basis of practice, mankind can blaze new trails by making use of ideological data accumulated by publication. The further people develop their publication undertakings, the wider and further they disseminate ideas and knowledge of mankind and the more knowledge and ideas they accumulate, the greater the achievements they will make in developing spiritual civilization.

The socialist publication work marks a completely new stage in the history of publishing. Marxist ideological guidance and the superiority of the socialist system have offered a wide prospect for bringing the role of publication into

full play. With regard to the work of dissemination, it is no longer constrained by the prejudice and selfish interests of the exploiting classes. Therefore, publication can consciously disseminate revolutionary theories which conform to objective laws, and scientific and cultural knowledge beneficial to social development. With regard to targets of service, publication work is no longer restricted to satisfying the demands of a small number of persons. Instead, it serves the broad masses of people and provides urban and rural areas with various kinds of varied and colorful books suitable for readers with different cultural levels. Therefore, publication work in the socialist period can profoundly and widely promote the development of civilization and progress of the society.

After our country has entered a new historical period, publication work has acquired a new and important significance. The "decisions" points out: "The new situation of the socialist modernization has assigned publication work an unprecedentedly important position in the history of our party and country." This has demanded that we further give play to the role of publication work in disseminating advanced ideology and scientific knowledge. Last year throughout the country, we published 5.8 billion copies of books and 1.5 billion copies of magazines. This was a record year in the history of our country. However, we have not yet satisfied the demands of the masses. People still complain of the difficulties in publishing and buying books. This has shown that the functions of publications work not only remain unimpaired, but have also become increasingly important.

## 2. Bridge and Pillar

The functions of publication have been reflected not only in the process of the development of spiritual civilization, but also in all aspects of the building of spiritual civilization. The "decisions" stresses: "Ideological construction, cultural construction, economic construction, and political construction are closely connected with publication work." We will clearly understand this if we study the establishment of Marxism and the development and prosperity of communications, sciences, education and literature.

Lenin pointed out: "Marxism is an example of how communism arose out of a sum of human knowledge." ("Selected Works of Lenin" vol 4, p 347). While summing up the experience of the proletariat in revolutionary struggles, the founders of Marxism systematically studied various ideological data contained in a large number of books and records. In so doing, they founded the theories of scientific communism. Without publication work, which preserves and disseminates the tremendous wealth of knowledge, the Marxist writers of classics would not have been able to carry out their scientific research work, which was of epoch-making significance. To extensively and profoundly disseminate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we also need publication work, a spiritual bridge. In his letter written to Marx, Engels said: If we do as we did in the past to "use various kinds of books to solidly carry out scientific propaganda work, we will promote our cause more effectively." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 28, p 230). Since its founding, our party has always assigned a most important position publication work in order to disseminate Marxism and Leninism. During the difficult years of revolutionary struggles,



it established and developed a new undertaking of book publication, in order to sow the seeds of revolution among millions upon millions of the masses. Since the founding of new China, our party has intensified its efforts to disseminate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought through publication work. Without publication work, it is difficult for the party to accomplish the task.

We should rely on the active support of publication work in order to develop scientific and educational undertakings. Scientific and technological books and data, scientific research force, and facilities for scientific research are the three pillars in the scientific undertakings. In particular, modern sciences and technology develop rapidly, the renewal cycle of knowledge and technology is gradually shortened, and the number of books and data which contain the results of scientific and technological research has rapidly increased. Thus, when we start certain scientific research, or in the process of carrying out the work, we should make use of books and data to make sure of the achievements and gaps in the relevant fields of scientific research carried out both at home and abroad. After achieving scientific and technological results, we should disseminate and popularize them by making use of books and magazines. In educational undertakings, textbooks, teachers, and teaching facilities are also regarded as the three main pillars. More than 2 billion copies of textbooks which we publish every year have a direct bearing on the teaching and studying tasks of millions of teachers and students. If we fail to do well in publishing various kinds of textbooks, our teaching quality will drop. It is difficult to carry out our educational work.

Publication work is also indispensable to the development of socialist literature and art. The purpose of literary creation is to disseminate literature among the masses, in order to affect people's ideology, feelings, and mental outlook with vivid artistic images. Publishing is a powerful means for achieving this purpose. If literature is not integrated with publication and printing undertakings, its dissemination and preservation will be greatly restricted. Its role in social life will not be fulfilled either. Hence it is difficult for literature to develop itself. From the past, a great number of famous articles and excellent works have been handed down and preserved, so that people can appreciate and make use of them. This should be attributed to publication and printing work. Without publication, it is impossible for us to spread our socialist literature among the masses and hand it down to our descendants.

### 3. Desire and Opinions

Since publication has truly played an important role, we should make full use of it. In accordance with the requirements set in the "decisions," we should strengthen and improve our publication work, so that it will greatly develop to meet the demands of the building of spiritual civilization and socialist modernization.

To bring the important role of publication into play, we should first attach ideological importance to publication work, because it is carried out not only by publication departments, but also by the entire party. To develop it, we should rely not only on the efforts made by the publication departments, but also on the concern and support of the entire party. In our present practical



life, some people have still ignored publication work. Just as the "decisions" pointed out: There still exist the problems of "lacking understanding and ignoring the important role of publication work in socialist modernization." This has resulted from the prejudice of some people who looked down upon knowledge for a long time in the past. Such unhealthy trends will inevitably be reflected in publication work. Therefore, while overcoming prejudice against knowledge, we should also help some people eradicate their prejudice against publication. This has demanded that leading departments concerned do more ideological work and strengthen their guidance for publication work.

To bring the important role of publication into play, publication departments should do well in adhering to socialist orientation, and accomplish their key task with emphasis on enhancing the quality of spiritual products. While continuing to overcome the erroneous "leftist" ideology, we should truly prevent and curb the trends of bourgeois liberalization and commercialization of spiritual products. Socialist publication work is different in principle from the capitalist publication work. Socialist publication work is not a tool for propagating the ideology of exploiting classes and earning great profits. It is a tool for propagating patriotism, collectivism, socialism, and communism, disseminating scientific and cultural knowledge, and criticizing feudal and capitalist ideology. Publication departments should consciously provide the people with mental food. They are not allowed to turn our rough and slipshod work, and to spiritually pollute the readers. At all times, they should attach their primary importance to the social effects of books, rather than purely seeking profits. Otherwise, they will depart from the socialist orientation. This is a matter which publication departments should guard against.

To bring the important role of publication into play, we need better material and technical conditions. At present, our country does not yet have great capacity for printing and publication. Our facilities and equipment are obsolete and technology is backward. This is the main reason for the difficulties in publishing and buying books. Only by truly changing this state of affairs can the development of publication work keep in line with the building of the two modernizations. Therefore, we should reform the management system, improve management and administration, and fully arouse the enthusiasm of printing and publication workers. We need more facilities to reform our technique, and to gradually change the backward material conditions in our printing and publication work. In so doing, we will be able to equip our printing and publication enterprises with advanced technology.

To bring the important role of publication into play, we should also establish a contingent of people at a qualified ideological and vocational level. The rapid revival and preliminary prosperity of the publication undertakings in recent years cannot be separated from the hard work, intelligence, and wisdom of our publication workers. Publication work, editorial work in particular, is an ideologically and scientifically strong work. Publication workers should consciously stand on the forefront of the building of spiritual civilization, strengthen their sense of political responsibility, and make themselves unknown heroes. They should unite with the broad masses of writers and translators and work together with them to strengthen and improve the publication contingent. They should implement the policy toward intellectuals and truly improve their living and working conditions, so that they will make more contributions to the development of publication undertakings.

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### XINWAN ZHANXIAN ON NEED FOR MORE EDITORIALS

HK091129 Beijing XINWAN ZHANXIAN in Chinese No 7, 1983 pp 5-7 [date of publication not given]

[Article by Fan Rongkang [5400 2837 1660]: "On the Frequency of Editorials"]

[Text] I happened to read XINJIANG RIBAO for the first quarter of this year. I found out that the newspaper published only two editorials during that quarter.

Everyone might possibly be stunned by this and might ask: Why did XINJIANG RIBAO publish so few editorials?

I thought that this would probably be a fortuitous phenomenon occurring in certain newspapers. Therefore, I then read Shanghai's JIEFANG RIBAO. Contrary to my expectation, this newspaper published even fewer editorials than XINJIANG RIBAO. It published only one editorial in the first quarter.

It seems a fact that local newspapers publishing few editorials is not a unique phenomenon.

The fact that newspapers publish few editorials does not mean that they publish few commentaries. "JIEFANG Forum" on page 2 of JIEFANG RIBAO is run in a lively way, because it discusses matters which can attract the readers. There is also a special column called "Let's Talk" in XINJIANG RIBAO, which publishes short commentaries. Various newspapers publish quite a large number of commentator's articles. However, the editorial is the most authoritative type of press commentary, whose functions cannot be replaced by other commentaries. The fact that newspapers publish so few editorials, or none at all, should not be regarded as natural and right.

At present, people throughout the country are making great efforts to create a new situation in socialist modernization. Newspapers in various localities are also doing their best to improve their layout and format in order to reflect fully our colorful new period. There are more and more faster and shorter news reports and special features in our newspapers. The number of criticisms and discussions has also increased. Various signed articles published in special columns point out our present-day errors and discuss

matters of public interest in a lively way. Our newspapers are further welcomed by the readers. However, in such a garden full of beauty of spring, the most important plot, editorials, has not yet been effectively cultivated, because our editorials are terribly few. We cannot but feel sorry about this.

In 1955, when Deng Tuo conducted a journalists course at the senior party school, he said: "We cannot run a newspaper without editorials. Whether a newspaper writes editorials very often and whether the broad masses of readers are interested in reading its editorials is an important political problem. We have every reason to believe that a newspaper without editorials is politically valueless. A newspaper which fails to publish editorials frequently is not politically strong. On the contrary, only newspapers which publish editorials frequently can be regarded as politically strong newspapers. Right after the beginning of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Deng Tuo died as a result of persecution. He did not personally witness how the "gang of four" usurped the leadership of the party newspapers. His ideas on editorials would probably be inaccurate if they were interpreted under the special conditions of the "Great Cultural Revolution." At that time, newspapers sometimes published more editorials and other times less. The political value of newspapers could not be judged by the quantity of editorials they published, because they were politically reactionary newspapers or newspapers with reactionary values under the control of the "gang of four." However, generally speaking, Deng Tuo's idea contains essential truth. Under the present political conditions in particular, it is of practical significance. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party has straightened out its ideological and political line, a political situation of stability and unity has prevailed throughout the country, and people on all fronts are making efforts to open a new situation in their work. There are a number of issues which are worth exploring and commenting on. Under such circumstances, if the party newspapers only rest content with affording knowledge and delight to readers (readers, of course, need knowledge and delight) but neglect the work of strengthening the publication of commentaries and editorials, their level will drop. This is a problem which should be conscientiously considered.

Since newspapers are tools of class struggle, all newspapers in China and foreign countries represent the interests of certain classes, political parties, groups, or factions. To safeguard and strive for their own interests, they attach primary importance to editorials, the most important forum in newspapers, to propagate their own views in order to affect public opinion. Actually, even those newspapers which claim to "bear no political coloration" or regard themselves as "nongovernmental papers" or "purely commercial papers" also show their political inclination through their editorials. Since its founding, the CPC has paid great attention to running its own newspapers in order to propagate Marxism through the opinions and ideas expressed by the newspapers. Therefore, proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation personally wrote editorials for the party newspapers. In 1941, in a circular on the publication of JIEFANG RIBAO and other issues, the CPC Central Committee pointed out: "Editorials of the JIEFANG RIBAO will be written by comrades of the CPC Central Committee and other important cadres." In 1942, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee adopted another resolution, stipulating that various ministries and commissions of the central authorities

(including central leading comrades) should write editorials or special commentaries for JIEFANG RIBAO. It is obvious that our party has attached primary importance to editorials of newspapers. In those years, JIEFANG RIBAO in Yanan published a comparatively large number of editorials covering a number of issues such as politics, the military, construction in liberated areas, international affairs, and others. They produced a magnificent influence.

In the process of seizing political power in the whole country, due to the fact that the revolutionary situation developed rapidly, the party's press undertakings swiftly expanded from a small number of liberated areas to various places throughout the country. The training of press cadres, cadres specializing in press commentaries in particular, was far from meeting the demands of the situation. During the initial period after the founding of new China, party newspapers at various levels only published a limited number of commentaries, editorials in particular. At a national press work meeting held in 1950, Comrade Qiaomu raised the issue of the "insufficiency of commentaries." The CPC Central Committee issued special instructions, demanding that responsible comrades of the CPC committees and governments at various levels constantly write editorials and commentaries for newspapers. We substantially changed this situation by the mid-1950's through our efforts, exerted over a long time. Let us take RENMIN RIBAO as an example. Following the improvement made in 1956, the number of its editorials was markedly increased and their quality enhanced. In addition, the newspaper devoted a great number of new columns to discussion. In particular, its editorials discussed issues which concerned the masses. This encouraged more readers to read editorials. In the new period of socialist modernization, we have every reason to inherit and to carry forward the tradition that party newspaper's should attach importance to editorials. There is no reason whatsoever to squeeze editorials out of our newspapers.

Some people say: "There is only a limited number of readers who read editorials and nobody likes to read editorials." This problem needs analyzing. It is an arbitrary assertion to say that "nobody likes to read" editorials. However, it is true that many readers are not interested in reading long and dull editorials. According to surveys conducted in recent years we have found that only a small number of readers regard editorials as their "most favorite" item. However, an editorial entitled "A Review and Encouragement--Summing Up Readers' Opinions," which was written to mark the 30th anniversary of the publication of XINHUA RIBAO in Chongqing, said: "Readers in general feel that they 'like to read' editorials and special commentaries and that they have 'derived great benefits' from them." Comparing the present with the past, we, commentators of the party newspapers, feel ashamed because we let our predecessors down. However, we should regard readers' criticism and dissatisfaction as a motivating force to reform our editorials. They should not become our reasons for "squeezing out" editorials. The party has assigned to us the task of cultivating the field of editorials. It is our duty to pursue intensive cultivation so that it becomes a high-yield field. We have no right to leave it uncultivated. Actually, it is dull and uninteresting editorials readers do not like reading, but they like to read well-written ones. In recent years, some central and local newspapers, including specialized newspapers like SHICHANG BAO and others and some prefectural and county newspapers, have written some



better editorials which have left a deep impression on readers. They are extensively praised by readers. Readers like to read good editorials. Press commentators should strengthen their theoretical study and should make more investigations and studies. They should pay attention to enhancing their understanding of literature, to selecting good topics, to making proper use of materials, and to improving their style of writing so that they can write magnificent editorials to attract more readers.

Some people say: "Too many editorials will give rise to arbitrary and impracticable directions." It is true that such situations occurred during the period of the "great leap forward." In those days, a newspaper might write several editorials a day, ordering "all people to run industry" one moment, and urging "all people to go in for waterworks projects," and "all the people to make great efforts to develop communications" the next. Cadres at lower levels were at a loss to know what to do. We should draw a lesson from such historical experiences. However, the situation of issuing arbitrary and impracticable directions should not be attributed to editorials. It resulted from the erroneous guiding ideology of the party. The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee summed up historical experiences since the founding of new China and the party's guiding thought has now got onto the track of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Press workers have also summed up experiences in running newspapers over the past few years. They have sharpened their vigilance against mistakes such as proneness to boasting and exaggeration, arbitrary orders, formalism, and others. Under the new historical conditions, why should we "refrain" from writing or publishing more editorials for fear of "issuing arbitrary orders"? Arbitrary and impractical directions should not be attributed to editorials. It is the duty of party and government organs to issue correct orders. This is not the task which should be accomplished by editorials. The main function of editorials is to explain correctly the party's guiding principles and policies and to analyze various social phenomena. Through exchanges with readers, they will inspire the readers ideologically and help them enhance their understanding. Do we not think that it is good for us to write more editorials with definite objects in view?

Some other people say: "It is too difficult to write editorials. We would rather write fewer editorials than let poorly written editorials swell the total. If there are no new ideas, we prefer not to write editorials." Indeed, it is rather difficult to write editorials. When writing editorials, some people only copy indiscriminately documents issued by the central authorities or speeches given by central leading comrades. We would prefer to write and publish fewer editorials which do not bring forth any new ideas. On New Year's Day or other festivals, some newspapers do scissors-and-pastework in order to publish editorials to mark the occasions. We should not publish, or should publish fewer such editorials. However, we should not give up our efforts because of the difficulty of writing editorials or setting forth new ideas. Life is varied and complicated. As long as we integrate the guiding principles and policies of the central authorities with the practical conditions in various localities, we will be able to discover new situations and new problems, inspire new creation, and accumulate new experiences. If we can discern new trends of development, we can surely write editorials which contain new

ideas. If we can go into the midst of the masses to find out what they think, worry about, and discuss, and if we can select topics which are interesting and absorbing, we will also be able to write editorials which contain new ideas. Why do the commentaries and special columns of a number of newspapers attract their readers? Their most important experience is that they can select topics which concern the masses. This experience is completely suitable for the writers of editorials. They should further emancipate their minds in order to write editorials. They should not think that writing editorials is tantamount to "delivering sermons by keeping a straight face." The writers of editorials should be bold in facing reality and discovering contradictions in life. Contradictions and struggles mean development and new ideas. If they dodge contradictions, are plagued by all sorts of fears, and can only repeat general principles which are widely known, they are, certainly, unable to set forth new ideas. We should select serious political topics for editorials. However, this does not mean that editorials should not be written in a humorous and witty way. Articles are filled with feelings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy. This should also be the case with editorials. Press workers should not be restrained by certain patterns of editorials. Instead, they should do painstaking work to bring forth new ideas. As long as they persist in doing so, their editorials will attract more and more readers.

It seems that it is necessary to repeat Mao Zedong's quotation: "Being meticulous and careful in writing editorials is a very important task." We hope that through efforts exerted by press workers, editorials of various newspapers will enter a new period of prosperity.

CSO: 4005/1089

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GUANGMING RIBAO ON IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

HK050704 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 83 p 1

[Commentary: "Ideological and Political Work Must Also Be Strengthened on the Ideological and Cultural Front"]

[Text] Recently, the CPC Central Committee issued a circular on approving and transmitting the "Program for Ideological and Political Work Among the Staff and Workers of State Enterprises (draft)." This "program (draft)" is a very important document on strengthening and improving the ideological and political work among the enterprise staff and workers in the period of socialist modernization construction in our country, which has been formulated on the basis of long-term investigation and study of the present status of the working class in our country and the situation of the ideological and political work among the enterprise staff and workers, and after long-term preparation and repeated discussions and revisions. The practice of this program will certainly have a positive and far-reaching impact on raising the political and cultural quality of China's working class, on building a strong contingent of staff and workers who have ideals, morality, culture, and a sense of discipline, and on promoting the construction of material and spiritual civilization.

Some fundamental requirements put forward by the "program (draft)" for the working class are also applicable to the broad masses of intellectuals, for the intellectuals also constitute a part of the working class. At the present stage, all engineers and technicians, scientific and technical workers, school teachers and staff members, and cultural, health, and physical education workers in our country belong to the category of the working class. Although the "program (draft)" is about ideological and political work for the staff and workers in state enterprises, its basic spirit, principles, and methods are also applicable to all educational, science, and cultural departments and units. Therefore, these departments and units must also implement this document and effectively do a good job in the ideological and political work.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the general situation of the ideological and political work for intellectuals on the educational, science, and cultural fronts and for other staff members and workers is good, and the main trend is healthy. We are glad to see that a large number of advanced people have emerged since then, who are working selflessly for the public interest, determined to carry out the reforms, bold



in scaling new heights, and ready to devote themselves to the four modernizations. They are models for the broad masses of intellectuals. However, we must also see that owing to various reasons, some departments and units have attached less importance to, or have even greatly weakened, the ideological and political work. As a result, some unhealthy phenomenon, such as lax ideology and discipline, being inactive in work, and being intent on nothing but money, as well as the trend of liberalization, have emerged in varying degrees in many units. We must pay serious attention to these problems.

It is true that for a rather long period in the past, under the guidance of the wrong ideological policy of "taking class struggle as the key link," both the content and method of ideological and political education were stamped with the "leftist" brand. Even to this day, this "leftist" brand has not yet been thoroughly removed. However, under no circumstances can this become a reason for neglecting or even resisting ideological and political work. It is necessary to criticize and abandon the "leftist" mistakes in previous ideological and political work. But while criticizing these mistakes, we must never neglect the right trend. When some comrades hear that the ideological and political work must be strengthened, they say that the "leftist" mistakes will naturally be repeated. This is extremely wrong. In order to [word indistinct] the smooth progress of the construction of the four modernizations and work in various fields, we must never neglect ideological and political work. It is necessary for us to study and sum up the characteristics, law, content, and method of ideological and political work in the new historical period. However, this is just aimed at raising our level in ideological and political work so that we can do a better and more effective job in this respect.

Since the "program (draft)" has abandoned the "leftist" mistakes in the previous ideological and political work and has clearly put forward the principles, content, and methods for ideological and political work in the new historical period, and moreover, since it has raised some concrete requirements on building a contingent of ideological and political work cadres who are more revolutionary, younger, better-educated, and more professionally competent, we can now have a clear orientation to follow in our ideological and political work. Provided we conscientiously act in accordance with the principles and methods of the "program (draft)," we will surely create a new situation in our ideological and political work. Of course, the tasks for education, science, and culture departments are greatly different from those for enterprises. Moreover, in different departments and among the people in different trades, there are also great differences in the people's consciousness and the organization forms, as well as in the level of ideological and political work. Therefore, when we carry out this program, we must proceed from the actual conditions of our own units and work out concrete measures and steps for strengthening ideological and political work in our units. It is necessary to make concrete arrangements in light of our actual conditions and assign different tasks for different periods of time so that they can be fulfilled successfully. It is wrong to regard this "program (draft)" as merely a document for enterprises and just read it sentence by sentence for the masses in order to go through the motions. It also is wrong to copy it mechanically. In short, in carrying out this document, we must develop the spirit of creativity, continuously explore the law of ideological and political work, conscientiously sum up our practical experiences, and make unremitting efforts to carry out ideological and political work in a scientific and systematic way.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HU QIAOMU PREFACE TO YANG GANG COLLECTED WORKS

HK090720 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606]: "Preface to 'Collected Works of Yang Gang'"]

[Text] I must be thankful to Comrade Xiao Qian for his great efforts and to the comrades of the People's Literature Publishing House for giving me an opportunity to read the final proof of the "Collected Works of Yang Gang," which was compiled by Comrade Xiao Qian.

Comrade Yang Gang was one of my earliest acquaintances among Communist Party members. We knew each other at the beginning of 1931, shortly after I joined the CYL in Qinghua University. At that time, since a heated argument occurred among the party organizations in Beijing over the question of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee and the Extraordinary Committee, the municipal CPC and CYL committees held several meetings in a comrade's room in Qinghua University for CPC and CYL activists in the western suburbs. Thus, I was able to make my acquaintance with some party members from Yanjing University. Among them was Yang Gang, who was called Yang Bin at that time, and who has left on me the deepest impression. This is not only because she was the only woman comrade at the meeting but also because she was a convincing debater. As far as I can remember, she opposed both the fourth plenary session and the extraordinary committee at that time. However, although I knew her name through the comrades in our university, she did not know me at all. Even when we met again later, I did not mention this matter to her.

Later, when I was still in Beijing, I went to Yanjing University several times on CYL business, but I did not have a chance to see her, nor did I hear anything about her. In May 1932, I left Beijing. Of course, then there was still less chance of meeting her. Then she joined the Shanghai's left-wing Writers Association in 1933, but did not stay there long. When I went to work in Shanghai in 1935, she appeared to have returned to Beijing. I did not know that she studied English literature until I read a Chinese translation of "Pride and Prejudice" published by the Commercial Press (which was the first Chinese translation of this masterpiece, with a preface written by Professor Wu Mi). After the war of resistance against Japan, she went to the United States to study and work. Later, I read in TA KUNG PAO several newsletters

from the United States, which were written by her. I did not see her again until one day at the end of 1948, when Comrade Zhou Enlai introduced her to Comrade Mao Zedong after she came from Hong Kong to Xibaipo, Pingshan County, Hebei Province, where the CPC Central Committee was then located. Her appearance was quite different from when I saw her at our first meeting, owing to the passing of time. Since then, I met her more often. However, before I read this "Collected Works of Yang Gang," I did not know that she had written so many works, including poems, novels, prose, and literary comment. In Chongqing and Beijing, Comrade Zhou Enlai thought highly of her. I remember that he told Comrade Mao Zedong at Xibaipo that she was a rare woman cadre in our party. Judging from her work in JINBU RIBAO [PROGRESSIVE DAILY], Shanghai's TA KUNG PAO, Premier Zhou's office, the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee, and RENMIN RIBAO, I felt that she was very capable in many areas. The pity is that we did not have a chance to exchange our intimate views. This is another reason why I knew very little about her literary activities and views.

Unfortunately, she suffered a serious concussion in a traffic accident in 1955, and did not fully recuperate after a period of convalescence. In October 1957, she suddenly found that one of her notebooks was missing. Many comrades advised her not to worry about that. However, although she was not criticized, she still felt extremely nervous about it (this undoubtedly has something to do with the tense political atmosphere at that time). Finally, on 7 October this year, she died in an extremely disordered state of mind. Comrades Zhou Enlai and Deng Yingchao, as well as other comrades who were familiar with her, deeply regretted her death. They held that this was a great loss for the party and the people.

Since the comrades working on the RENMIN RIBAO editorial board and I did not know much about her literary activities in the past (I only knew that she once worked as an editor for TA KUNG PAO's literary supplement), and since she had died in a special case, we had never thought of publishing her works before. In the summer of 1960, when I was recuperating in Harbin, I met Comrade Zheng Pei, who was then director of the propaganda department of the Harbin City CPC Committee and who later died of disease in 1978 (I first knew him in 1931 in Beijing when he was engaged in the CYL work and met him again in Yanan, so we knew each other well). After talking with him, I learned that he was the younger brother of Zheng Kan, Comrade Yang Gang's husband, who later lived apart from her. The pity is that he also did not mention anything about Yang Gang's literary works. Perhaps he also knew very little about her achievements in this respect due to the different jobs they undertook and infrequent contact with her. However, I am afraid that, in reality, it was also impossible for those who were well aware of her literary achievements to publish her works in the past.

Now with a heavy heart, I read her posthumous works one after another. Her death not only made our party and people suffer the loss of a loyal and fine daughter but also the loss of a good writer who was full of enthusiasm and had a unique and original writing style. She was not a great writer. She did not pursue aesthetic results in literary forms (and sometimes did not pay much attention to rhetoric). She did not write many works. However, people cannot but have great esteem for her for writing so many outstanding pieces during

those busy years when she had thrown her main energy into the revolutionary struggles. Do you want to know the aspirations of the Chinese people during the War of Resistance Against Japan? Do you want to know the hardships of Chinese women in the past and the sufferings of the revolutionaries? Do you want to know about real life in various corners of the United States? Comrade Yang Gang's poems, medium-length and short novels (except for the historical novel "Gongsun Yang"), and prose will give you a true answer. Her novels, which are simple and plain, are really very stirring. The "Corporal Punishment" (originally entitled "The Missing Pages of a Diary"), which was included in Snow's "Living China" (Huo de Zhongguo 3172 4104 0022 0948), is an example of this. Her prose, especially the "Seething Dreams," a collection of her prose, was a crystallization of the patriotism of the Chinese people. We can hardly find any other works which are similar to hers in modern prose. I think this achievement alone will make the Chinese writers and historians remember her always. Although she did not write much literary comment, her original views in this respect must not be neglected.

I hope that through the publication of her works, this passionate writer will always live in the hearts of readers who pursue truth and brightness.

CSO: 4005/1089

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GUANGMING RIBAO HIGHLIGHTS QING REFORM ADVOCATE

HK121440 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Ma Dongyu [7456 2639 3768] and Di Fusheng [6732 1381 3932]: "Wang Tao's Thoughts on 'Self-Strengthening Through Political Reforms'"]

[Text] In 1840, the sinister salvos fired by the British aggressors hit and broke through the door of China. China began to degenerate from an independent sovereign state with territorial integrity into a semicolonial country. Thereafter, fighting against aggression, saving the country from extinction, and striving for existence became urgent and imperative problems of the Chinese nation. In order to solve these problems, countless outstanding people rushed to the front to fight the enemy. Others strove to find out how they could save the country. They used their brushes to voice a call to the people to save the country and strive for existence and they went around campaigning for the cause. They painted a lot of many-hued patriotic pictures of modern China. Wang Tao was one of the pioneering advocates of reforms in early modern China. A red patriotic line, which is still shining in the treasurehouse of patriotic thoughts, runs through his variegated thinking.

Wang Tao (1828-97), who was also called Wang Zhongtao or Wang Ziquan, was a native of Wuxian County, Jiangsu Province. His father, who was a private tutor, taught him the classics when he was a small boy. When he was about 20 years old, poverty compelled him to go to Shanghai to be employed by the Mohai Academy, established by the British Mission. He worked there in order to earn a living and to provide for his family. In 1862, he fled to Hong Kong because the Qing court ordered his arrest. In 1867, he left Hong Kong to visit Britain, France, and Russia, and Japan, where he learned something about science, politics, and the cultures of the West. Hence, he became one of China's pioneering advocates of reform. In 1874, he returned to Hong Kong to become the chief editor of TSUN WAN YAT PO. He commented on the current political situation and advocated self-strengthening through reforms. In 1884, he returned to Shanghai to be president of the Gezhi Academy. In Shanghai, he wrote books and vigorously disseminated the idea of saving the country through reforms. The "Selected Works of Taoyuan" [Taoyuan Wenlu Waibian 1718 0954 2429 6922 1120 4882] and "Correspondence of Taoyuan" [Taoyuan Chidu 1718 0954 1439 3658], his most important works, display his ardent love for the motherland and his thinking on self-strengthening through reforms.



Even when he was very young, he had begun to cherish an ardent love for the country. However, the Qing government could not tolerate him. When he took refuge in Hong Kong, he saw that the motherland was declining. "I was deeply grieved by the situation. However, I could do nothing about it. Sometimes, heated with wine, I clasped my hands and talked eloquently in a voice that shook the walls. Occasionally, I was so excited that I could not help weeping." "He could not forget the motherland for a single moment," even when he was touring the Western countries. While the Western powers "used military might to support their commercial power" and carried out political blackmail and economic plunder against China, the Qing government could do nothing but swallow the humiliation on its knees. Such a situation made him "worry more about the country, and all sorts of feelings well up in my heart." He pledged to "dedicate my whole life to the service of my country." ("Selected Works of Taoyuan: 'Autobiography,'" vol 11)

After returning to China, he immediately wrote forceful articles to expose the aggressors' criminal activity of plundering China. He strongly criticized the gunboat policy of the powers on the basis of the things which he saw with his own eyes. He said: "They have been to every part of the continents and have almost searched every corner thoroughly for precious things." His works sounded the alarm for the people who had illusions about the intention of the aggressors. Wang Tao abhorred the humiliating foreign policy adopted by the Qing government. He thought that the aggressors came one after another because "perhaps the people in power have been led astray by the idea of appeasement." After the Qing government had signed the "Chefoo Convention," the "Peking Convention," and the "Treaty of St Petersburg" with Britain, Japan, and Russia and had sold out sovereignty to a large extent, he was "very anxious about the current political situation and indignant at the confusion in policy-making." He was so angry that he suffered "an abrupt recurrence of an old illness" and he grieved to the extent of wishing to die. ("Selected Works of Taoyuan: 'Autobiography,'" vol 11) He called for the annulment of such inequitable treaties and thought that the Qing government brought galling shame and humiliation to the Chinese nation by letting the foreign powers run wild on Chinese soil.

Speaking on the issue of saving the country, Wang Tao thought that in order to make the country independent, it was necessary first to make it wealthy and powerful. He clearly pointed out that in order to make the country wealthy and powerful, it was necessary to learn from the West. At first, he maintained that we should study the military technology of foreign countries. He had translated some books, including "An Introduction to the Science of Firearms." His purpose was to resist the invasion of the aggressors with the superior skills and weapons seized from the foreigners. "In this way, China can become powerful and capable of resisting the powers." ("Correspondence of Taoyuan," p 93) Wang Tao made an advance in his thinking by shifting his focus of attention from the study of military technology to industry and commerce. Wang Tao discovered that the foreigners who dumped their commodities in China, were only charged a tax of 7.5 percent, whereas the Chinese who transported and sold commodities to places "several scores of li away are charged customs duties several times at the outposts of the tax offices along the route. Consequently, both the merchants and the people suffer and the itinerant traders complain." ("Selected Works of Taoyuan," p 44) Thus, he called

for the abolishment of the outposts of the tax office which were responsible for the collection of likin [a tax] and the imposition of a standardized tax on both Chinese and foreign merchants in order to pave the way for the development of industry and commerce.

Wang Tao's ideas on the elimination of age-old malpractices in China, the reform of the political system of the country, and the replacement of feudal autocracy with bourgeois "constitutional monarchy" constitute the apex of the development of his thinking. He thought that the age-old malpractices of the Qing court included the following things: overstaffed government departments, redundant personnel, brutal and tyrannical bureaucrats, embezzlement, the "complicated feudal regulations," and disregard for human life. He compared the brutal and tyrannical officials to jackals and wolves and called for the consolidation of civil administration, the revision of laws and regulations, and the mitigation of punishment. He sharply pointed out that the feudal education and examination system could only select and produce "people who know nothing about financial, military, and legal affairs and who do not know the north from the south and the east from the west." He vigorously advocated new learning and called for the production of useful people with modern scientific knowledge because he thought that they were the basis for the stability and power of a country. (The above can be found in the following four articles contained in the "Selected Works of Taoyuan": "The Elimination of Malpractices," "Self-strengthening Through Reforms," "On the Origin of the Literati," "Cherish the People.")

Wang Tao was the first Chinese to make known to China in the 1850's the parliamentary system of the West. Actually, he did not fully understand the system at that time. He thought that it was ridiculous to let "the monarch and the people run the country together," to give "both the sons and daughters of monarchs the right to be the heir to the throne," and to "integrate the church with government." However, in the 1880's, he began to eulogize constitutional monarchy enthusiastically. He said: "If a monarch and his people run a country together, there will be full communication between them and the monarch will learn of the misery of the people and bestow bounties on them." If China adopted this system, "there will be no internal disorder and foreign aggression can be effectively resisted. In addition, the country will be as stable as if it were founded on a massive rock." ("Selected Works of Taoyuan: 'Cherish the People,' part 2) Thus, we can see that Wang Tao's enthusiasm for introducing the parliamentary system of the West to China reflected his patriotic feelings. In his "Correspondence of Taoyuan," he said that once the system under which a monarch and his people run a country together was practiced, "all the persons with noble aspirations of that country will strive to catch up with other countries. Unity is strength. How can we say that they will not be able to resist foreign aggression!"

CSO: 4005/1089



GUANGMING RIBAO ON EVALUATING HISTORICAL FIGURES

HK130206 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Deng Chuanchun [6772 0278 3196]: "Evaluating the 'Theory of Stages' Concerning Historical Figures and Other Issues"]

[Text] The article "In Evaluating Historical Figures We Should Use the 'Theory of Stages'" (written by Jiang Daren [7100 1129 0117], GUANGMING RIBAO 29 June 1983) is quite impressive. Here, I would like to air my differing views and discuss Comrade Jiang Daren's article.

I agree with Comrade Jiang Daren's exposition of the "theory of stages," which analyzes, in a specific manner and by stages, the merits and errors of historical figures. But the problem is that we should not stop at just having a clear idea of historical figures in different stages. We should make a conclusion, analyze the character of historical figures, and explain whether these historical figures were loyal or treacherous, good or bad. The purpose of analyzing historical stages is to make conclusions on certain historical figures.

If we do not make conclusions on historical figures but are merely satisfied with saying that some historical figures were "good or bad," that they made "achievements" or committed "errors," and that they were "good in their early years but bad in their late years," we have, in fact, not fulfilled the task of evaluating historical figures. What is more important is that if we restrict ourselves to the evaluation of the "theory of stages" and do not make basic conclusions on principal aspects, the viewpoint of relativity will inevitably emerge, by which we will not be able to differentiate between right and wrong, the talented and the incompetent, and good and bad. Historical figures were not monolithic. They can be parted by using of the method of "one dividing into two." There are no absolutely good people or absolutely bad people.

Although the "theory of stages" is essential, it must be combined with the "theory of comprehension." On the basis of a stage analysis, we should carry out a summing up in a highly comprehensive manner and, proceeding from the whole situation, make basic conclusions on historical figures. Without a comprehensive analysis, we can have only a partial perception of the situation and cannot make overall and correct conclusions.

Historical figures are complicated and varied. There were good and bad historical figures, as well as intermediary historical figures, who were half good and half bad and had as many merits as errors. Things develop through the course of quantitative change. Between the good and the bad, there is a transitional period of "changing from one aspect to the other." Historical figures are no exception. We should make appropriate, decisive, and comprehensive conclusions on historical figures, with the exception of some of them on whom conclusions cannot be made for the time being and of some of them who were originally of the intermediary character. In this way, we will be able to differentiate between good and bad historical figures, between historical figures who made achievements and historical figures who committed mistakes, and between talented and incompetent historical figures so as to restore their original features.

For a long time, we have been accustomed to evaluating historical figures by "adverse inference." The merits of a historical figure in his early years can be blotted out once he commits political mistakes in his late years, or be thoroughly negated by cooking up a pretext that "in his early years, he sneaked into the revolutionary contingent." For example, we adopted the above method with regard to evaluating Wei Changhui, Wang Jingwei, Hu Shi, Chen Duxiu, and Zhang Guotao, thinking that it was a revolutionary approach. In fact, revolutionary and scientific approaches form an integral whole. Even if a person has a bad motive in doing something, he must not be totally negated, as long as what he does bring about good results. Describing accurately the merits of negative historical figures in their early years will convince people in a more effective manner. It is not harmful to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Being afraid to write about their merits means having either selfish or metaphysical ideas.

In his book "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautskiy," Lenin severely repudiated and criticized Kautskiy. But Lenin affirmed Kautskiy's early works. He clearly pointed out: "We know from many of Kautskiy's works that he knew how to be a Marxist historian, and that such works of his will remain a permanent possession of the proletariat in spite of his subsequent apostasy." The phrases such as "the renegade Kautskiy," "the historian Kautskiy," and "the socialist and Marxist Kautskiy" can also be seen in the book. ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 3, pp 653, 683) Lenin did not adopt the method of "adverse inference" and did not use the latter stage to negate the former one. Everyone knows that Lenin adopted a realistic attitude in evaluating Plekhanov and the Narodniks. He did not use the defects to obscure the virtues, or vice versa. If the method of "adverse inference" had been used, such a conclusion as "good people are good by birth and bad people are bad by birth" would have been made, and so the dialectical development course of historical figures would have disappeared, and they would have lost their rich and lively personal character. The development of things always undergoes the change from quantitative to qualitative. This is an objective law which also governs historical figures.

In short, the "theory of stages" must be affirmed. But at the same time, we must also understand that it has limitations. We must combine it with the

"theory of comprehension" and strive to make decisive conclusions on historical figures. In understanding a historical figure, a process of cognition is required. With regard to historical figures on whom we cannot make conclusions for the time being, or with regard to intermediary historical figures who were neither good nor bad, it is also advisable to use the "theory of stages." If there are mistakes in the opinion I have aired above, please oblige me with your comments.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC HISTORIAN'S PREFACE TO MODERN HISTORY BOOK

HK110240 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 83 p 5

[Article by Chen Xulu [7115 2485 7785]: "Preface to '80 Years of Modern China'"]

[Text] In order to avoid using the same title for many other works on modern history, we have entitled this book "80 Years of Modern China." This shows that we have only written the history of the first 80 years of the modern era. We still cannot fully understand the history of the 30 years since the "May Fourth" movement.

In the three decades or more since Comrade Fan Wenlan's "Modern Chinese History" came off the press, about 20 dozen works on modern histories (including pamphlets) have been published. In recent years, Comrade Hu Housheng's "From the Opium War to the May Fourth Movement," consisting of two massive volumes, and works by others have come off the press. There are already too many modern histories.

We bother ourselves with the compilation of this book for the Shanghai People's Publishing House because in building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations and in carrying out a patriotic education, there is the need to understand what China and its national conditions were like in the immediate past. Thus, the history of modern China, which has just passed, is a compulsory course. If we say that over 100 million of the 1 billion Chinese people find it necessary to learn some modern history, then, there must be plenty of books on the history of modern China. Although there were many such books in the past, however, the number is still not great enough to meet the great demand at present. In addition, some of the books were not suited to the level of understanding of all the people. Thus, although we are not unaware of our ignorance, we still find it necessary to compile this work, which contains more than 300,000 characters, as another choice for educated young people.

Modern China has witnessed unprecedented epochal changes. There were acute contradictions among various classes and various nationalities, which were manifested as frequent political or armed struggles. These struggles reflected the waves of conflicts between the old and the new. They were entwined together to form a complicated and many-splendored picture. There were many

persons of exceptional ability, ideals, and integrity who stood in the forefront of the struggles and who fought for the future of the motherland and the fate of the nation regardless of their safety. Their deeds and contributions had inspired generations of people and impelled them forward. Doubtless, the history of the Chinese people's fight against imperialism and feudalism is the dominant line which must be followed in expounding and studying modern history.

Propelled by acute class struggle and national struggle, extensive social changes unfolded in modern China. All the struggles for production, scientific experiments, and social practice underwent a continuous metamorphosis which were catalyzed by the cultural exchanges between countries or regions. China under the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty was a backward and conservative country. There were many obstacles in its way to make progress and it was hard for it to advance.

The problem of simultaneously resisting foreign aggression and learning from the West, which is an example of the unity of opposites, originated from the slogan "learn the superior skills of the barbarians in order to control them" put forward by people during the Opium War. Such an activity has been praised as an activity of the advanced Chinese because the purpose of "learning from the barbarians" was to free China from the difficult position of being controlled by the barbarians. In addition, such an activity had also effected a breakthrough in the conservative close-door policy which had been in force for generations, directed people's vision to the immense world, and embodied a patriotic spirit which had epoch-making significance. Recently, the Hunan People's Publishing House has compiled an "entering the world series" on the basis of the diaries and travel notes written by the people who were sent to foreign countries on diplomatic missions and the people who visited foreign countries in the late Qing period, in order to remind people of the bitter experience of people who went abroad and in understanding the world several generations ago. The series has been well received by intellectuals. Both valuable and valueless topics are contained in this series. They represent a breakthrough in the political and cultural lives in modern China and are a commendable attempt to gain an understanding of the world. Let us compare what happened in China with the case of the first Japanese envoy to Europe and the United States. In 1891, Japan sent Mori Arinori, the first Japanese proconsul, to the United States. In addition to conducting negotiations, he studied the way the United States was founded and the way it established and ran schools. He presented notes to the secretaries and officials of U.S. Government departments, congressmen, and university presidents, asking them to answer the questions listed. Later the answers were translated into Japanese and sent to Japan to be published under the title "Strategy for Making the Country Powerful Through Education." The book was influential and instrumental in promoting the Meiji Restoration. After the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95, there was a Chinese translation of the book published. In 1896, 5 years after Mori Arinori's mission, the Qing government sent Guo Songtao, its first envoy, to Britain and France. He wrote a book entitled "An Account of the Mission to the West." The book describes in detail the political situation, cultures, skills, technological development, and folk customs of these two countries. He mailed the book to the Zongli Yamen [the Qing Foreign Ministry] for publication. However, the book was attacked by conservative bureaucrats

and the printing plates were destroyed. It is not difficult to see from the fate of the "strategy for making the country powerful through education" and the "an account of the mission to the West" the distance between China and Japan on their ways to reform in the 19th century.

Entering the world is an inevitable phenomenon in the development of history. However, China took this step and made further advances in frustration. Most of the far-sighted Chinese who advocated learning from the West were stirred by foreign aggression and the disgrace of being inferior to others. They wanted to learn the very things for which people harshly attacked them, to "deal with the people as they dealt with them" to take revenge on those people, and to wipe out a humiliation. However, at the very beginning, almost all of them were misunderstood and censured by people. In fact, the purpose of "learning from the barbarians" was not only to "control the barbarians" but also to make China look at the world with open eyes, to curb the Chinese practice of boasting of the "impressiveness and power of the Chinese officials," and to make it see the development of the Western countries and draw lessons from it in order to change its backward political, economic, military, and cultural situations. The bourgeois reformists and revolutionaries and many intellectuals have said much and written many articles and books on this issue in order to emancipate the people's mind. The two lines, "I vow to advocate democracy, change the folk customs, study philosophical doctrines, and introduce new knowledge" written by Liang Qichao precisely express the situation. At a time when thousands of intellectuals still eulogized the powerful and wealthy land and Yu dynasties and regarded the lifestyle of the troglodytes as the lifestyle in Shangrila, people had to be courageous enough in order to enter the world and to introduce new things.

Western learning is new learning and Chinese learning is the old learning. This has been clearly explained in Mao Zedong's "On New Democracy." The question of whether or not to study Western learning was always expressed as the conflict between the new and the old or as the acute struggle between feudalism and antifeudalism. The Reform Movement of 1898, the Revolution of 1911, and the May Fourth Movement differed from each other in that revolution or reform and new or old democracy was advocated in one movement but discarded by others. However, the conflict between new and old learning ran through the three movements and the conflict became more profound through the three movements. The Westernization drive, which took place earlier, was conducted by some of the landlords in power. They adopted new learning in order to defend the old learning. This reflected the split in the landlord class. The dispute between such landlords and the diehards carried traces of the contradictions between the new and the old.

In the course of learning from the West in modern China, the difficult problem of how to suit Western learning to China's national conditions emerged at an early stage. Two annoying tendencies had existed throughout: first, there was the tendency of pandering to the traditional national conditions of China, of not having the courage to learn the strong points of other countries, of falsely comparing what ancient China had to the new things of the capitalist countries of the West, and of being anxious for the charge of "substituting barbarian ways for Chinese ways." The understanding of almost all the people at the early stage was characterized by this tendency. There was also the



tendency to not pay attention to the national conditions of China, and blindly, uncritically, and indiscriminately transplant Western things to Chinese soil. Such an attitude was more common later. The former carried traces of feudalism while the latter degenerated into a comprador style which was characterized by slavish dependence. Because of the disturbances brought about by these two tendencies, China could not quickly discover how it could draw on the experience of other countries and still follow its own path. Of these two tendencies, the former perplexed China in a relatively more serious way. Even many advanced Chinese could not help being hindered by it because it was firmly entrenched in the soil of small-scale peasant economy and the gigantic tree of national feelings. However, it was not like the latter in blatantly seeking publicity and being repulsive.

There were twists and turns in the course of the history of modern China and it advanced through difficulties and frustrations. Patriotism, reform, and revolution were the banners which persistently guided the people to fight. The raging tide of patriotism surged toward imperialism and the spearhead of reform and revolution was aimed at feudalism. However, reform and revolution relied on the West in the supply of ideological weapons. Although such weapons of the bourgeoisie of the West were not durable, they were the best weapons with which the advanced Chinese repeatedly and unyieldingly fought against imperialism and feudal forces. The doctrines propounded by the bourgeoisie of the West in an earlier age did not serve imperialism and fascism, which emerged later. However, in the colonial and semicolonial countries, they had enlightened people, facilitated a national awakening, and become a spiritual force against the alien oppressors and the corrupt and degenerate forces at home.

The Chinese nation has a long history. Its culture has been able to continue to exist for several thousands of years without a break because it has a solid material foundation, great vitality, and a broad mind tolerant of other cultures. Consequently, it has become a great culture. In modern times, imperialists and capitalists attempted to nibble at its territory and to partition it. However, it continues to stand firm in the world because it can thoroughly examine the trends of the times, draw on the experience of the West, strive for reforms, and unremittingly take the independent road by its own initiative.

The purpose of a work on the history of modern China should be to clearly expound the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle waged by the Chinese people which carried society forward. This is the dominant line which should be faithfully recorded and kept in mind. History should also acknowledge and give a place to the efforts made by many patriotic and practical-minded intellectuals to understand the world, to acquire scientific knowledge, to probe into new doctrines and new ideas, to carry out the reform of society, and to give impetus to the modernization movements. History has proven that without the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle bravely waged by the masses, China could not have succeeded in maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in its own hands and that without the study and popularization of cultural and scientific knowledge, China will find it difficult to make an advance and to change the "economically and culturally backward situation"

in China. Although their protracted efforts and the struggle they waged did not bring about the fulfillment of their goals, it is undeniable, however, that they gave vitality to the decaying Chinese society which reinvigorated the national spirit, and out of untold frustrations, drew the correct conclusion that "only socialism can save China" after the May Fourth Movement. This is also the main idea and the prospects which the 80 years of modern history intend to convey to the readers.

Because of limited space, this book cannot include more topics than it does. It has merely elaborated in greater detail the dominant line characterized by anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism so that it can touch on the spheres of ideology, culture, and social life as far as possible. The style of this book is different from those of the popular works on modern history. The whole book is divided into 32 topics which can be further subdivided. Each topic can form an independent chapter and all the topics can dovetail to maintain continuity and coherence. In the past, the usual practice was to write separate and independent chapters on important events such as the Taiping heavenly kingdom and so on. The practice is not followed here. We simply follow, trace, and record chronologically the successive ups and downs of historical events and pay due attention to the causal and temporal relationship among them. Readers and experts are requested to point out any mistakes and what is inappropriate.

USO: 4005/1089

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CITY GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURES BEING STREAMLINED

OW070939 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 8 Aug 83

[Text] Beijing, 7 Aug (XINHUA correspondent Zhang Mengyi)--A dozen provinces in China are trying out a new system to boost the economy by forming new economic zones each covering several counties and centering on a mid-sized city.

This is part of the effort to streamline government structure at prefectural and city levels which often duplicate in administrative setup, authority and function.

Prefectural and city governments are being merged in those cities where such governments exist side by side. These cities usually have larger populations and better developed industries.

The new city governments will have greater power in economic management. They will exercise leadership over the rural areas around them, organize production and circulation, and gradually form new, diversified economic zones.

Where the city authorities are unable to administer all of the counties around, they may administer only some of them while transferring the others to neighboring cities which are able to do so.

In areas where there are no major cities, the prefectural governments will remain and function as local offices of the provincial or autonomous region governments in line with the national constitution.

Suburban areas directly under the administration of large and mid-sized cities are being expanded while new industrial and mining districts or towns will be expanded into cities which exercise leadership over surrounding rural areas.

Since the implementation of this new system in March of this year, Changzhou City in Jiangsu Province, east China, which now administers three counties, has formed five networks in charge of industry, science and technology, commodity circulation, post and telecommunications, and finances. These networks coordinate the area's economic development with that of the extensive Yangtze River Delta Economic Zone.

Dandong City in Liaoning Province, northeast China, has organized urban-rural enterprises coordinating production, supply and marketing. The city has established an industrial complex, based on rural resources, with silk, paper-making, chemical fibre and wristwatch industries as its mainstay.

Specialists believe that the new system will promote the formation of economic zones and networks centered on cities and rural economic and cultural development, thus strengthening the integration of agriculture, industry and commerce.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZHU DE ON ARTISTIC WORK, PROPAGANDA WAR IN 1940

HK120911 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 83 p 1

["'Artistic Work During the North China Propaganda War Over the Past 3 Years (24 July 1940)'--Outline of a Report Made by Comrade Zhu De at Lu Xun Art and Literature Institute in Yanan"]

[Text] I. The General Situation of the North China Propaganda War Over the Past 3 Years

1. Through Xinmin Hui (Footnote 1) (Xinmin Hui was an organization established by the Japanese and the puppet regime in the enemy-occupied areas in north China during the War of Resistance Against Japan. It carried on the education of enslavement and was engaged in espionage activities. It was set up in Beijing in December 1927, and its branches were established later in various provinces, cities, and countries in north China) and Xuan Fu Ban [propaganda and pacification group] (Footnote 2) (Xuan Fu Ban was an organ of the Japanese Army during the War of Resistance Against Japan, which was responsible for reactionary propaganda work and the education of enslavement toward the people in the enemy-occupied areas), the enemy secret service has controlled the newspapers, magazines, and books, organized various kinds of propaganda organizations engaged in deceptive publicity work, and published a large batch of various newspapers, magazines, booklets, and leaflets, so as to publicize the ideas of "establishing a new order in East Asia" (Foot note 3) ("establishing a new order in East Asia" was a plot aimed at invading and enslaving China, proposed by the Japanese Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro in his "Announcement of the Imperial Government" on 3 November 1938. In the document, it was proposed to establish the "cooperation between Japan, Manchukuo, and China," that was, to realize the "cooperation" between Japan, the puppet Manchukuo regime (the puppet regime set up by Japanese imperialism after it occupied northeast China in 1931), and the Kuomintang government, so as to fight against the communists, and to facilitate Japan's control over China in the fields of politics, economy, and culture) and "cooperation between Japan, Manchukuo, and China," to conduct anticommunist activities and propaganda of dissension and estrangement.

2. For our part, our propaganda departments in the army, with the support of the anti-Japanese Government and the mass organizations, have published a

and have mobilized every fighter in the army to do the publicity work. The key content of our propaganda is to persevere in the war of resistance, to uphold unity, and to point out the bright prospects of a new democratic China.

3. As a result, although our means of propaganda are much inferior to those of the Japanese imperialists due to limitation in technology and other facilities, nevertheless the masses give us their support because the truth is on our side and the masses have close links with us, and they realize that we are correct through their personal experiences.

4. If we can do a better job in our publicity work and make propaganda combine with the artistic work more closely, our achievements will be still greater.

II. The Enemy Attaches Importance To Utilization of Arts in Their Propaganda Work.

1. All the enemy's propaganda makes full use of the form of art.

The enemy is good at utilizing large picture posters and small cartoons for propaganda.

The enemy often broadcasts music with the theme of "cooperation between Japan, Manchukuo, and China" in an attempt to inculcate the idea of "Japan, Manchukuo, and China being one family" into people's minds through the "oriental music."

The enemy's theory of literature and art is: "The aim of literature and art is to carry out construction, that is, the construction of a new order in East Asia."

2. When the enemy makes use of art, they pay special attention to Chinese forms and styles.

For example, they have utilized the story of Lord Sima of Wen (Footnote 4) (Lord Sima of Wen, or Sima Guang (1019-86), was a minister and historian in the Northern Song Dynasty. He had conferred on him the title of Lord of Wen posthumously. When he was a child, he happened to see a child falling into a big water vat. With a flash of inspiration, he broke the vat and saved the child) and put out a large picture poster with the theme of "Japan saving China."

If the almanac can be published with some pictures added, it will become a good publicity vehicle.

III. Our Views on the Function of Art in Propaganda Work

A propagandist is not necessarily an artist, but a Marxist artist should be a good propagandist.

1. Our anti-fil work is not for a small number of people, but for the broad masses and the army of China. We must have a clear understanding of our targets, and do our work with due consideration for the masses and the soldiers.



1. An understanding of our targets will lead to a problem--the problem of national style and popular style in artistic work, which is also a problem of making our works of art popular and easier to understand.

4. The important reasons for raising the problem of national style and popular style:

a. Because they are easier to be understood by the broad masses. We cannot consider them to be vulgar and discard them, and we must realize that our enemy are utilizing them as their tools. We should turn them into weapons in our hands.

b. Since we want to create a kind of new democratic art of China, we must accept the good things of our nation's traditional culture, and improve and develop these things.

c. Before we put forward the slogan of popularization, we had already paid due attention to this problem and achieved some positive results. Examples were the creation of some soldier plays reflecting the characteristic features in the life of the Eighth-Route Army, and the staging of such plays as "Xiao Bai Long" (Footnote 5) ("Xiao Bai Long" was a Beijing opera performed by the propaganda team of the political department of the 386th Brigade of the 129th Division of the Eighth-Route Army in 1939. It reflected the deeds in the anti-Japanese struggle performed by Xiao Bai Long and others, who belonged to a certain unit of the northeastern volunteers). Since the slogan was put forward, greater results have been achieved.

With respect to pictures and woodcuts, there are the New Year pictures created by the woodcut work troupe working on the frontier, which was sent by Lu Xun art institute. The woodcut pictures were warmly received by the masses, and they were sold out soon after they were put on sale.

As for music, the form of folk songs has been used more liberally, such as the ditty ridiculing Wang (Footnote 6) (The ditty ridiculing Wang was a folk song denouncing the traitor Wang Jingwei, and was very popular in the Taihang region at that time).

With regard to the theater, there have been various kinds of plays such as the skits which employ the Chinese style of songs and dances, and plays which reflect the life of Chinese families during the War of Resistance Against Japan. All these are very much welcomed by the broad masses.

#### IV. Our Demands and Hopes Regarding the Artistic Workers

1. A good artist should be a politician at the same time. In a class society, art has to serve [words indistinct] class and cannot be above politics. Artists should strengthen their political understanding so as to become good artists. Therefore, they must study Marxism-Leninism. This point should never be slighted.

2. Artists should take part in practical struggle, and observe and learn from real life. They should not stand aloof from the masses but should be among the masses. They should not be mere bystanders, but should be fighters that take part in the actual struggle. Only in this way can they go deep into life and create good works of art which are loved and welcomed by the broad masses.

In addition to the above demands, we hope that the artistic workers will do the following:

1. They should unite with each other, be accustomed to collective life, and be good at portraying the strength of the collective. It is because we are not adherents of individualistic heroism. In the great undertaking of communism, an individual, no matter what he is, will become relatively small.

2. They should be modest in learning from the masses, and should listen to the opinions and suggestions of the masses, so that they can make progress. They should not indulge themselves in the thought that "one's own article is the best."

3. The artistic workers should also learn military affairs, because we live in a great era of armed struggle. Not only should they possess military knowledge in order to portray the present struggle, but also they should, and have the opportunity to, take part in the actual work of armed struggle.

I believe that, in future, outstanding artists will emerge out of the fighters, and, at the same time, great and valiant fighters will also emerge out of the artists.

It lies with you to defeat Japan in the cultural movement and the propaganda war.

It also lies with you to create a brilliant new democratic art.

I hope that all of you, comrades, will exert your utmost efforts!

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RENMIN RIBAO ON 'SELECTED WORKS OF ZHU DE'

HK091459 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 83 p 5

[Article by Liao Gailong [1675 5556 7127]: "Doing Everything for the Masses and Relying Entirely on the Masses"—on Studying the "Selected Works of Zhu De"]

[Text] We are looking forward to the imminent publication and circulation of the "Selected Works of Zhu De," due to appear on 1 August this year. The publication of the "Selected Works of Zhu De" follows the appearance of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," vol 1, the "Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," vol 1 and the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," and as such represents a great occasion in the history of China's Marxist publishing. This publication will be of great significance to our party in upholding and developing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to the people in their undertaking of constructing a highly modernized, highly civilized, and highly democratized socialist country.

For 60 years or so Comrade Zhu De was involved in the Revolution of 1911 and the war to denounce Yuan Shikai and to protect China. After the 4 May Movement he very quickly accepted Marxism and in 1922 he joined the CPC. During the first great revolution it was he who provided the force behind and who led the anti-imperialist struggle in Wanxian in Sichuan Province, known as the "5 September." After the failure of the first great revolution he took part in leading the Nanchang uprising. After the defeat which met most of the rebel army upon moving south and reaching Chaoshan district in Guangdong, he led the remainder of the troops and after launching the Xiangnan uprising he reached Ninggang in April 1928, where he joined forces with the troops led by Mao Zedong involved in the autumn harvest uprising on the border between Hubei and Jiangxi and there they organized the first main column of the Chinese Red Army, the fourth workers and peasants' revolutionary army. After Zhu De and Mao Zedong joined forces, and especially after the great victories at Qixiling and Longyuankou, led by Comrade Zhu De, the Jinggangshan base area entered its heyday. From 1929 he opened up the southern Jiangxi and western Fujian base area (what was later on to be the central base area) with Comrade Mao Zedong. From 1930 to 1931, Comrade Zhu De, along with Comrade Mao Zedong, led the Red Army to victory over three successive attempts at "encirclement" by reactionary nationalist factions against the central base camp and they at last constructively opened up the correct road for achieving Chinese revolutionary victory, which took in both rural areas and towns and finally included

the entire country. When, in 1932, Mao Zedong was dismissed from his position as leader of the Red Army by "leftist" factions in the central leadership, Comrade Zhu De and Comrade Zhou Enlai together led the Red Army to victory in smashing the enemy's fourth "encirclement." At the extended political conference held in January 1935 (the Zunyi meeting) Comrade Zhu De, Comrade Zhou Enlai, Comrade Zhang Wentian, and Comrade Wang Jiaxiang together protected the correct party line which upheld Comrade Mao Zedong as leader and representative and at the same time dismissed the erroneous "leftist" leadership. After the meeting of the first front army and the fourth front army, Comrade Zhu De and Comrade Liu Baicheng, together with the broad cadres of the second and fourth front armies waged a resolute struggle against the divisive antiparty activities of Zhang Guodao. When the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression broke out, Comrade Zhu De led the Eighth-Route Army deep behind enemy lines and then set up the north China base camp at the rear of the enemy. Here, with a population of around 100 million, the armed forces swelled to 500,000. After returning to Yanan in 1940, during and after the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and the 4 years of war for national liberation, Comrade Zhu De, together with Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and Liu Shaoqi, led the construction of the people's army and led the people's struggle right up until the founding of the PRC. For 27 years after the founding of the PRC Comrade Zhu De continued the regularization and modernization of the PLA and he made enormous contributions to socialist transformation and construction.

During the period of the new Chinese democratic revolution and the process of socialist transformation and construction, Comrade Zhu De made use of the universal principles of Marxism to solve China's realistic problems related to the people's struggle, the construction of the people's army, the construction of the party, and economic construction. He also assimilated the rich experiences of China's revolution and socialist construction and made outstanding contributions to the form and development of Mao Zedong Thought, especially Mao Zedong military thought.

Comrade Zhu De had vast practical experience in revolution and he also wrote a great deal. The 65 pieces included in the "Selected Works of Zhu De," in all around 250,000 Chinese characters, represent the most important part of what he wrote. Of these 65 pieces, 28 deal with military affairs, 22 with political and historical matters, 11 with economic affairs, and 4 with scientific and cultural matters.

The mass line and the mass concept that everything comes from the people, everything should be done for the people, and that the people should be relied on entirely, runs through the "Selected Works of Zhu De" like a red thread. In his extremely touching and moving article entitled "In Memory of my Mother," Comrade Zhu De writes "my mother has now left me, I will never again be able to see her face...my mother was an ordinary person, and she was merely one of hundreds and thousands of people who created and are now creating Chinese history. [Words indistinct] and loyal to the hope of our nation and our people--the CPC, so that people like my mother may live in happiness. This I can do and this I will do."

In the article entitled "The Heroism of the Eighth-Route Army and the New Fourth Army" Comrade Zhu De wrote, "The heroism of the Eighth-Route Army and the New Fourth Army is not the old heroism produced for selfish interests or in the service of reactionary trends, it is a new heroism, a revolutionary heroism, and a heroism of a mass nature." "Revolution is for the masses and revolution is also carried out by the masses and hence revolutionary heroism must of necessity be heroism of a mass nature. Heroism of a mass nature displays itself in two ways: Firstly, in that everything is in the interests of the masses, while personal interests unconditionally remain subordinate to the interests of the masses and, secondly, in the belief in the strength of the masses and the strength of the collective as the most powerful force in creating the world and creating history. Thus, the strength of an individual is merely 'a drop in the ocean' of this great combined strength."

In his 1944 "Speech at the Forum on Writing the History of the First Army Group of the Red Army," Comrade Zhu De said with great clarity: "The Thoughts of Chairman Mao represent a way of seeking truth from facts, arming the masses, and sowing seeds everywhere, and for this reason the revolutionary forces have developed very quickly." He continued: "We can in no way claim credit for ourselves. It is the masses who are rolling on with full force and who are martyring themselves and sacrificing their lives and if there is credit due, it is due to them. Without the masses, we could do nothing." In his speech delivered at the meeting of cadres at and above regimental level of the first corps of the east China field army in May 1948, Comrade Zhu De noted: "Some comrades still cherish individual heroism and believe that their own contributions are enormous and amazing and want the party to yield to them. But where in actual fact have your contributions come from? Do they not depend on the strength of the party and the masses? War is waged by soldiers and it is they who heroically sacrifice themselves, so how can you justify attributing your contributions entirely to yourself? For example, when the PLA wins a great victory, many people say it is a great achievement on my part. I know that what they mean is that for them I represent the PLA. I myself should understand that the victories of the PLA are achievements of the entire army and I should not boast about some fantastic skill of my own. My ability is limited and so too are the things that I have done and am still doing, so how then can I accept such enormous credit?"

In his article "Congratulating Master Liu on his 50th Birthday," Comrade Zhu De praises Comrade Liu Baicheng and says, "Comrade Liu is a man who goes deeply into the masses and thoroughly understands the masses. He is strict with himself and yet lenient with others and he is also modest, courteous, and affable and he is an example for the masses. For these reasons he spontaneously gained the love and esteem of the masses and became their leader."

Comrade Zhu De himself was also a shining example of someone who always loved the people, relied on the people, and was at one with the people in flesh and blood, following accurately the mass line and loyally serving the people. Comrade Zhou Enlai said in "Words of Congratulation to Commander in Chief Zhu on his 60th Birthday," "Dear commander in chief, you are truly loyal to the party and the people and during the revolutionary process you experienced suffering and difficulties but you always held high the torch of revolution,



brightly lighting up the future so that hundreds and thousands of the people could advance with you with certitude and confidence! During the 25 years that we have known each other so well you have always been amiable and easy to approach and yet always rock firm and steadfast and this is your greatness! You have shown great concern for the people and a great loathing and hatred for the enemy and this too is your greatness!"

The military thinking of Comrade Zhu De fully embodied the mass line and concepts of a mass nature. Comrade Zhu De always regarded soldiers and people as the most important factors in deciding the outcome of a battle. He believed that war was primarily political and that "the political weapon," namely political consciousness, was "the most valuable of all weapons." "The most important things about a political war are, firstly, to reorganize from within and to eradicate incorrect ideas and bad behavior and habits from among the troops, gaining steel-like unity within the guerrilla forces which will under no circumstances whatsoever disintegrate and which will stand firm against any storm." "Secondly, the masses are one's fortress and the masses must be united around one." "Thirdly, disintegration of the enemy," by striving to promote the awareness of the enemy soldiers. ("On Guerrilla Warfare Against the Japanese"). These are the fundamental characteristics of the people's army as outlined by Comrade Zhu De.

Comrade Zhu De repeatedly said that the way to gain victory in battle and also the aim of training our troops was to rely on the courage of the people, based on their consciousness, and also on the people's skill (as well as their wisdom and battle tactics). "The aim of our training of soldiers is to ensure that every person is courageous and skilled and in this way we are prepared when we fight." ("On the Question of Training and Leading Soldiers")

In his report entitled "On the Battle Front in the Liberated Area" Comrade Zhu De said that our army is the people's army "and it is made up of the people, armed by the people and trained with the people. It protects the people's interests and it serves the people." "Inside the people's army there is democracy, there is unity between officers and soldiers and this democracy and unity also extends to people outside the people's army and thus it will be able to wipe away the warlord system." "Because the people's army is at one with the people it is able effectively to protect the motherland and also to protect the people's rights to democratic freedom." "This kind of army is unprecedented in Chinese history and the CPC is rightly proud that it has been able to create such an army."

Comrade Zhu De went on to say: "There are two different kinds of army and there are two different ways of leading an army and its soldiers. The way to lead a nonpeople's and antipeople's army is to enslave the soldiers, whereas the way to lead a people's army is to make the soldiers conscious and aware people." "The way to train a people's army is to ensure that every soldier trains consciously and spontaneously. They must train their mental capacities, improve their political consciousness and their cultural standards. They must train their physical capacities, building up their physical strength. They must also practice their skills and battle tactics. During the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, "one new thing which emerged from troop training was cooperation on the mass line between upper and lower ranks, which had supplanted the officer and cadre system in which everything was handled by



the upper ranks." The way in which military force is used in the people's army is to fight a people's battle. "When we fight, we receive the people's help everywhere," and furthermore every person in the entire army is "aware and motivated and, united in one aim, both flexible and lively, destroying the enemy with courage." "Our concept of military force can be encapsulated as fighting with any weapons, fighting any enemy, and fighting at any time and in any place." "The armed forces are at one with the people in that everyone is thinking of all possible ways to attack the enemy,...and this is the principle which makes us invincible." Way back in 1926, when he was studying military affairs in Moscow, Comrade Zhu De said that our battle tactics are: "If we can win we fight, if we cannot win, we go," and "when necessary we must haul our troops up the mountain." In 1928, at the time of Jinggangshan, he made great contributions toward the shaping of the 16-character formula concerning guerrilla warfare. Comrade Zhu De stressed that in terms of fighting a people's battle, it was necessary to learn from and to study the masses, and during the period of the war for liberation it was especially true that there was a need to study the masses' war and that there was a need to draw on the experiences of the masses in studying positional warfare and the storming of fortified positions, while advocating on the one hand the need not to fear death and on the other the need to try one's hardest to reduce sacrifices.

It is very clear that studying what Comrade Zhu De has written on the construction of the people's army and the strategic tactics of a people's war is extremely significant for us in terms of grasping the fundamental spirit of Mao Zedong military thought. It is especially worth pointing out that the speech that Comrade Zhu De gave on 31 July 1957 entitled "30 Great and Glorious Years" was written after deep discussions with Comrades Zhou Enlai and Chen Yi. This speech clearly and precisely explains the nature, tasks, and history of the PLA and also scientifically criticizes the historical contributions and shortcomings and mistakes of the 1 August Nanchang uprising. In addition it outlines for the first time in history the party's correct political and military line, as represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, built up and shaped in the last years of the 1920's and during the 1930's on the basis of assessing and assimilating the experiences of Jinggangshan region and southern Jiangxi and western Fujian, and furthermore under the guidance of which the Chinese people and the PLA gained victory throughout the country after experiencing much suffering.

Comrade Zhu De's thoughts on socialist economic construction also take as their fundamental starting point reliance on the masses and the mass line. "Decisions Relating to Several Historical Problems in the Party Since the Founding of New China," which appeared in the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, discusses the important experiences concerning the leading of socialist construction amassed during the first 10 years of over-all construction of socialism and says that "Comrade Zhu De proposed the idea that we must pay attention to developing the handicraft industry and diversified management in agriculture." We know that Comrade Zhu De also proposed that it was necessary to ensure that everyone throughout the country implemented the principle of building up the country and managing individual households through thrift and hard work. He also proposed that mountain regions be developed and that socialist construction start out from reality. He opposed

taking things for granted and doing things in a mass and unplanned way, and he also opposed the canteen system of "everyone eating from the same big pot." In addition, he opposed the idea that the circulation of materials and goods between the towns and the countryside through a variety of different channels should be changed into homogeneous state commerce, which would result in blocking the channels for commodity circulation. He also advocated expanding economic and technological exchange with foreign countries.

The speech that Comrade Zhu De made at the 8th CPC National Congress entitled "Strengthen Unity and Construct Socialism" was of far-reaching significance in terms of guiding our future socialist construction. He viewed the unity of all the peoples of China under the leadership of the party as the fundamental guarantee and the most valuable condition for the building of China into a great socialist nation. He said: "Since socialist transformation is now basically complete, the great unification of all the peoples of China on the basis of the industrial and agricultural alliance has now become even firmer and more consolidated, and what is more the sphere of this unification has widened." Thus, our tasks are "to give full expression to the absolute superiority of the socialist system, ensuring greater unity among the peoples of China and giving rein to the enthusiasm and creativity of all the people in building socialism." He pointed out that in order to achieve this target it was very important to handle well relations between peoples and thus it was necessary to continue to consolidate and expand the front of democratic unity among the peoples of China and also to continue to consolidate the dictatorship of the people and to further develop the democratic life of the nation. For all these things represent the most important guarantee for strengthening unity between all the peoples of China and for fully exploiting the enthusiasm and creativity of the peoples of China.

In this speech, Comrade Zhu De said that in the final analysis, the key to success or failure of socialist construction lay in the party's leadership and unity within the party. He said with great earnestness that "as long as our party can guarantee correct Marxist-Leninist leadership and does not commit great mistakes, and as long as our party can maintain consolidated Marxist-Leninist unity within its ranks, then it can without doubt unify the 600 million people of China victoriously to achieve the glorious task of socialist construction."

So, how can we guarantee that the party does not commit great errors and how can we ensure unity within the party? On the basis of the party's historical experiences and its glorious revolutionary tradition, Comrade Zhu De drew up the following six requirements:

1. To accept the experiences and lessons of past mistakes and the rectification of such mistakes. To shake up the party, to uphold the integration of theory and practice and to oppose subjectivism.
2. To uphold the mass line of integration of the leadership and the masses and to oppose bureaucracy.

3. To uphold the principle of mutual integration of the system of democratic centralization and centralized leadership with individual responsibilities, to oppose tendencies toward decentralization and extreme democratization which violate the system of democratic centralization and to oppose tendencies toward individual arbitrary actions which violate the principle of collective leadership.

4. To uphold the constant expression of democracy and the development of criticism and self-criticism within the party and among the people.

5. To uphold, during struggle within the party, the implementation of such principles as "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones," "to clean up thinking we must unite the comrades," and "start out from unity, experience criticism or struggle, and arrive at unity." To oppose liberalism in handling mistakes within the party and to oppose mechanical, brutal extremes in the struggle within the party.

6. To uphold unity throughout the party and the peoples of China and to oppose tendencies toward factionalism.

Finally, Comrade Zhu De summed up by saying "in conclusion, as long as we can make use of the rich experiences in party construction that we have gained over 35 years and make use of these experiences in the new situation in which we find ourselves, then we will be able to prevent any major errors occurring and we will be able to rectify quickly those errors which have already occurred so that small errors do not develop into big ones and so that temporary errors do not become long-term or permanent ones and thus the accuracy of the party's leadership and its unity will be guaranteed."

When we read these words of Comrade Zhu De now, how touching they seem in the light of two major "leftist" mistakes that the party committed as a result of diverging from its historical tradition of seeking truth from facts and keeping to the mass line, namely the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution," both of which caused serious upsets for the party and the people. I believe that we should regard Comrade Zhu De's speech at the 8th CPC National Congress, entitled "Strengthen Unity and Construct Socialism" as his political testament left for the party and the people. These words of Comrade Zhu De are still applicable today and they will continue to be adhered to for a long time to come.

In his "Introduction to 'A Criticism of Hegelian Philosophy,' which Marx wrote at the time when he had just become a scientific communist, he wrote the following meaningful words, "naturally, the weapon of criticism cannot supplant the criticism of the weapon, material force can only be destroyed with material force; however, once theory has gripped the masses it can become a material force. As long as theory is convincing it can grip the masses and as long as theory is thorough, it is convincing. By thorough I mean getting to the very root of the matter." The writing of Comrade Zhu De get to the very root

of the matter, for their essence and spirit is the mass line and mass concept that everything comes from the people, everything must be done for the people, and the people must be relied on entirely. The "Selected Works of Zhu De" is a worthy piece of Marxist writing of a Chinese nature and it is also a valuable spiritual treasure for the party and all the peoples of China.

CCO: 4005/1089

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO CARRIES ZHU DE SPEECH ON LEFTISM

HK091450 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 83 p 5

["Summary" of speech by Zhu De [2612 1795]: "Correct the 'Left' Deviation, Restore and Develop Production (3 February 1962)"]

[Text] (Footnote) (From 11 January 1962 until 4 February 1962 the CPC Central Committee held an extended work conference in Beijing. The conference made initial assessments of the "Great Leap Forward" of 1958 and the experiences and lessons to be learned from it. In addition, it also promoted criticism and self-criticism. The above is a summary of a speech given by Comrade Zhu De at the Shandong plenary session of this conference.)

We have spoken our minds freely at this conference, saying everything we feel and know without reserve and thus communicating in a thorough and all-round fashion. I am very satisfied with this.

In the last few years, internal party struggles have expanded and there have been losses, while attacks during the movement have been widespread, injuring people. Sometimes, internal party struggles have been confused with the eradication of counterrevolutionaries. As a result of this conference, I can see that we can successfully carry out rehabilitation work and unite even more people. The Shandong party organization has a glorious history. During the agrarian revolution, the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, and the struggle for liberation, Shandong's party members played very good roles. In the struggle against our enemies the Shandong cadres have been steadfast and courageous and their work has been successful. With this knowledge, the launching of movements will not result in great deviations. In mass movements, it has often been the case that if a deviation appears and is not tackled, it has become more and more extreme. When "leftist" tendencies have appeared, they have often been of a mass nature and thus difficult to stop, and we have had to wait until defeat and losses have been incurred before they can be stopped. There are some people who always believe that high targets are always correct within "left and right" and that a lack of high targets must mean "rightism." Thus, the tendency was uncheckable. It is fairly easy to oppose rightism since it is fairly easy to distinguish capitalist things within the party and thus fairly easy to stop them. It is often difficult to see "leftist" things and thus difficult to stop them.

It is easy to produce rightism when opposing "leftism" and it is easy to produce "leftism" when opposing rightism. This situation should be well noted by all leaders. When there is "leftism," it must be opposed; when there is rightism, it must be opposed; when there is something to be opposed, it must be opposed; when there is nothing to be opposed, no opposition is necessary. There should not be total generalization whenever something that should be opposed is mentioned.

To solve the problems within the party, we still need to make criticism and self-criticism in the manner of "a gentle breeze and a mild rain." When mistakes have occurred within leadership work, as long as the upper ranks carry out self-criticism, then it is easy to sort out the grievances of the lower ranks. The spirit of self-criticism must be spread everywhere so that each individual and each rank changes. We must first sort out problems of differences of opinion and incorrect ones must be handled through self-criticism. Comrade Mao Zedong often says that in order to develop democracy within the party, we must first of all have a spirit of self-criticism. If a person has committed a mistake and is afraid of being exposed by someone, he will suppress the masses, and then who will dare utter a word? On the other hand, if the lower ranks see you carrying out self-criticism, they too will also carry out self-criticism. If you make a mistake, do not be afraid and do not conceal

why is everyone so warmhearted toward our Red Army? Because the Red Army talks of class unity and class love. We can only beat the enemy by uniting among ourselves. At the very least, we should unite 90 percent with the masses while as far as the cadres are concerned, this unity should not be 90 percent but 100 percent. It takes 10 years or more to cultivate a cadre and it is not easy. We must always be a good care right through to old age and death. Thus, in our training and cultivating and teaching of cadres, we should start with this idea in mind. The "leftist" line of Wang Ming which involved "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" against the cadres meant either expulsion from the party or punishment. This bad style of work caused great damage to the revolution. The rectification of incorrect styles of work at Yanan produced the following conclusions: "The gentle breeze and a mild rain, and cure the patient and the patient." In this way, the style of work was changed for the better. We must [word indistinct] on party unity, criticism, and self-criticism. Mistakes who have committed mistake should be handled in the way of a doctor's business to save the patient. We should not mete out punishments and mete out blows. We must take very good care of the cadres and respect the powers of party members. If a party member has no experience, he must be helped; if he shows mistakes, he must be helped to rectify them. Thus, we ask ourselves, do we still need a struggle? The answer is yes. Without a struggle, we cannot unite. Contentment is also a kind of struggle. However, a struggle must begin from aspirations for unity and must attain the purpose of unity. Some unhealthy trends have appeared in the last few years, but we must still protect the production and work enthusiasm that exists. We must still carry out socialist construction. The question is how to do this thing in a stable manner, seeking truth from facts, for only in this way will enthusiasm increase. We must do one piece of work after another. We should not strain blind enthusiasm or do things beyond our abilities, nor should we mete out punishment, or practice "leftist" erroneous policies. After this conference, when everyone has discussed and assimilated



their experiences, we will once again have some fully viable regulations and these must be introduced for implementation among the masses in a planned and organized manner.

The several tens of people within a production team should also draw up regulations and they themselves should be in charge of how to set up their rules. In this way they will work hard and their rate of attendance will be high. If production teams are well organized, then prefectural work will also be well organized and there will be enough food to eat. Food is a very big problem. It does not do to organize things with the result that there is not enough food to eat. Of course, there will always be natural disasters, but even with natural disasters we must find a way of ensuring that everyone has enough to eat, and one good method is to fight droughts and provide disaster relief. We must organize production teams well and distribute private plots well. The remaining other questions, such as how to successfully organize brigade enterprises, require fixed stipulations. As long as we do things along these lines, this year will be a very successful one. Can we change present circumstances? I think that if this year goes well, we will be able to change the situation. We must organize enthusiasm well as we need [word indistinct]. Relevant departments should get to work opening up wasteland, doing some water conservancy and irrigation work, with everyone making use of every bit of time and space. By not eating in canteens, peasant families can save a little, eating whatever is available so that peasant families gain some resources and can provide for both the aged and the young. In the last few years family resources have been lost and we must now restore them. This is not putting the clock back because our foundations are still built on the production team. As long as we organize the production teams well and build up peasant families' resources, things will be done well. When we are organizing agriculture, we must not ignore natural conditions. Thus, we should suit measures to local conditions. We must clarify what areas are mountainous and what areas are alkaline and on this basis we should put forward our ideas. We must assimilate experiences from the past and do our work well. We should not sever ourselves from history and the past; otherwise, we will lose out.

As far as industry is concerned, Shandong's conditions are very good and fairly advanced. Qingdao already has foundations. Zibo is also an industrial base. The idea of the last 2 years that speed is important is wrong. In some situations, there is a lack of experience and things have been begun without a clear understanding, and realization has only dawned when the task has proved impossible to complete.

At present, the regrowth of the small-scale handicraft industry has been quite fast. It was only in May, June, and July of last year that this work was initially tackled firmly. Within a mere 3 or 4 months, it was possible to provide large supplies of some products, making queues and waiting in line unnecessary, while, in addition, it was possible to sell some products to other provinces and abroad. How have the Chinese people lived during the last few thousand years? Mainly by depending on agriculture and handicraft industries. In the future, the handicraft industries should develop further. By organizing handicraft industries, it will give the old and the young something to do and also provide them with incomes. There are some products which, by

sell on, even to foreign countries, can be exchanged for grain and iron and other materials. At present, we do not have very many industrial products and there is still a very great need for handicraft products.

Work should be channeled into agricultural, industrial, and handicraft production and into the struggle with nature. However, we should not resort to such methods which employ vast battle fronts made up of hundreds and thousands of people; instead, we should do things in an organized and planned way. We must ensure that the peasants work and live in peace and contentment, for this is the most fundamental guarantee for the development of production. Without peace and contentment in work and in life, how can production be increased? Everyone wants to work and live in peace and contentment. All spheres, such as commerce, industry, agriculture, and education and learning, should draw up several tens of regulations as guarantees. Only if everyone obeys the law and if conditions are gradually improving will people's grievances disappear. Only if the leaders positively ask for criticisms and opinions from the masses, organize democratic discussion, centralize themselves, and stand fast in their work in provinces, regions, prefectures--right down to branch level--will the work be well done. The party committee should not undertake the responsibility for all affairs, both large and small. They should understand and believe that the peasants can till the land. Thus, there is no reason for them to extend their responsibilities so widely. After work has been scientifically assigned, there should be punctual inspections and examinations. There are now tasks which the people's government should carry out, and if these items of work are not done well, it is the people's government which is responsible. You should not look after everything. This year's work must be done well. It seems that there has been development in light industry and in the handicraft industry and there are more raw materials than last year. In implementing the principle of agriculture, light and heavy industry, we must start at the bottom and not launch into a large plan off the top of our heads. We must do as much as we can and no more, and in doing so we will get a stable increase. We should not force people to do those things which they cannot finish, because they still cannot be completed. All that counts is that party members are in contact with the masses and that the law cannot be violated. As long as the whole party learns to work in accordance with objective laws, then we will undoubtedly be able to stand firm and continue to develop forward.

Shandong is a large province with a long coastline and great economic development. As long as the correct principles are implemented and the struggle within the party, then we can reduce the number of problems. In solving contradictions between the people, we should not resort to the same methods used in solving contradictions between ourselves. Naturally, there are still enemies around and vigilance is still required. Over-vigilance does not correspond with objective reality.

The third part in this conference will be an very optimistic situation in Shandong. I hope that you will leave here with a happy heart. United in new resolve, assimilating experiences, and by trying short-cuts and doing better, struggling with nature and organizing production well. I hope that you will work well.

NATURAL AFFAIRS

WEN ZHAI BAO: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHILOSOPHY, PRACTICAL WORK

HE090100 Beijing WEN ZHAI BAO in Chinese NO 95, 29 Jul 83 p 4

[Report on article in ZHONGYANG DANGXIAO TONGXUN [Central Party School newsletter] Issue No 22: "The Fundamental Problems in Philosophy Are Also the Fundamental Problems in Practical Work"]

[Text] In one of his recent lectures, Yang Xianzhen talked about the method of thinking. He said that there is an old saying in China: "Squares and circles cannot be drawn without compasses and a ruler." If thinking is without rules and laws, it may be termed fanciful and wishful thinking. Among our cadres, there are still quite a few people to indulge themselves in this kind of wishful thinking of no rules and laws. No matter what one does, subjective thinking should be in line with objective reality. The purpose of transforming one's ideology is precisely to make the ideology agree with objective reality, and make subjective thinking accord with objective things.

Marxism asserts that the relationship between thought and existence is the fundamental problem in philosophy. It explicitly maintains that existence is of primary importance and thought is of secondary importance, and that these two should be placed in their proper positions. Also, the correct positioning of thinking and objective reality is precisely the fundamental problems in our practical work. In the 1930's and 1940's, Comrade Mao Zedong firmly grasped this radical question of the relationship between thought and existence, and made many important and penetrating expositions. Lenin also held that the experience of man is embodied in his adaptability to objective existence, and the only scientific "methodology" is the portrayal of objective reality. Therefore, it is not wrong to assert that the problem of the relationship between thought and existence is also the fundamental problem in practical work.

We communists should always insist on seeking truth from facts, and should wage struggle against any unhealthy trends. Our party is a party in power. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering too, and not ape Xiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame." [as published] This is a statement which we should draw lessons from. Materialism and idealism are not separated by a great mountain, and the relationship between these two may be described by this expression: They are "close neighbors even though separated by oceans." If the materialists isolate themselves from the masses and from practice, it will also be very easy for them to fall into the swamp of idealism.

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# IMPROVEMENT OF RESEARCH METHODS ADVISED

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 5, 1 May 83 pp 3-10

[Article 1], Chen Junsheng [7115 0193 3932]: "Pertaining to Problems in Research[7]"

## [Excerpts] 1. Research and Mind Emancipation

Currently we are faced with a new reform situation. This kind of reform is a deep and wide-ranging revolution involving the structure and the economy, as well as other components. In order to meet the needs of this revolution, our minds must be liberated. It will be impossible for the old and unliberated, firmly entrenched patterns of management and administration which have hindered the development of the production forces for several decades, to bring success to the revolution. Only when our minds are free and production relations that are not suited to the production forces and some components and links of the superstructure are reformed correctly, can a characteristically Chinese socialism be established and the grand aim of the four modernizations be realized.

How can we emancipate our minds? Our history contains both positive and negative experiences and lessons.

During the "Great Leap Forward" of 1958, a widespread call within the Party and without summoned the cadres and the masses to emancipate their minds; at that time daring to think, speak and act became the mood of the masses. However, not very many of the key principles proposed had been based on serious research and profound deliberation. Some people went so far as to recklessly regard daring to think as license to think nonsensically and daring to act as rashness. In brief, the end result of having overestimated the role of subjective will and energy became clear to all. Just as was pointed out in the "Resolution Dealing with a Number of Problems in Current History since the Founding of the Nation" passed by the 11th CPC National Congress, "quite a few leadership cadres in the Central Committee and in the provinces grew arrogant and conceited in the face of victory and were impatient for success, they overstated the role of subjective will and energy, unacquainted by conscientious research and experimental projects, they, after the whole line was proposed, they hastily launched the 'Great Leap Forward' and the integration of rural villages

with people's imagines; with high aims, blind commandism, a propensity to distort and exaggerate and the 'communist wind' as their dominant images, have caused the error of leaning to the 'left' to run seriously rampant." Comrade Liu this still makes us feel sick at heart. It is a negative historical lesson of failure.

We have also had a positive historical experience of success. This is that since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Congress, emancipation of thought has been nourished within the party along with all the fruits that it yields. The 11th Congress defined the principles of liberating our minds, starting of our thought processes, seeking truth from facts and looking forward united, as well as the subsequent set of policy measures to be implemented, thus continuously motivating the emancipation of the people's minds until the party's 12th Congress freed our thought to a degree unprecedented in history. After the Third Plenum, in the space of 10 years, our party carried out so many projects of benefit to the country and the people! If we had stayed entrenched in the old conventions, that is, the old ways and style which existed before the Third Plenum and up until the "Cultural Revolution," could we have accomplished so much? Of course it would have been impossible.

Historical experience since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Congress proves that only if we insist upon seeking truth from fact and conscientiously do so, will our thought really be able to be set free, and only if investigation is founded upon getting truth from fact and upon the basis of investigation and study, will it be scientific and coincide with reality. Therefore, in doing the work of reform, seeking truth from fact and investigation and study must be carried through from start to finish. Whoever undertakes this method will easily find freedom of thought and thought in line with reality.

#### II. Research and the Principle of Party Spirit

In discussing the relationship between research and party spirit, it is necessary to begin with the aspect of the inherent relationship of the content of research to the world view of dialectical materialism. The basic principles and methods of research insisted upon for a long time by our party are from the fundamental standpoint of dialectical materialism, namely, a kind of realistic expression of party spirit. The epistemology of dialectical materialism demands the concrete historical synthesis of subjectivity and objectivity, theory and practice, knowledge and action. Therefore, the basic method of realizing this demand is to investigate reality. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong said that the basic mission of the leading organs entails two major tasks: the first is to understand reality; the second is to master policy. The former is the so-called understanding of the world; the latter, transforming the world. Research is the problem of how to understand and change the world. And precisely because it is this way, Comrade Hu Yaobang has made research and inspection and supervision the primary responsibilities of leading organs and workers.

Our party's history shows that whenever dialectical materialism occupied a dominant position in our party leadership, we united as one and victoriously advanced; however, when subjectivism prevailed and metaphysics ran wild, the party was driven to the brink of division and destruction. We could also put it this way: whenever dialectical materialism occupied a position of dominance in our party's leading organs, the practice of research prevailed; whenever subjectivism predominated in these organs, it was necessarily a time when the practice of research fell silent and inoperative. Our party's Yan'an period and the early 50's were times we prospered and flourished. And they were particularly times when the practice of research prevailed within the party, as well as when the spirit of the party's broad ranks, especially that of its leading cadres, was the strongest. And after the founding of the nation, even though the party's mistakes and faults were due to many reasons, these included subjectivism having dominance in our party's leading organs or holding away in the minds of some people.

The "Right Congress" stated: "Our party's historical experience has demonstrated thoroughly that overcoming subjectivism in ideology and understanding will ensure the smooth development of the party's work and prevent the occurrence of major errors." It also pointed out: "There are still some defects in our work, the most fundamental of which is that subjectivism has still not been extricated from the ideology and work of some comrades."

Over the years of internal chaos, miscalculations were made concerning the relationship between the nation's classes and subjectivism split off from the people.

After the "Right Congress" was finished, conditions underwent a basic change. Because of the time, we only had in mind the high enthusiasm of the masses and the need for restoration of production, underestimating the damages caused by the "Left" ideology of "leftism" and the hidden dangers of subjectivism.

At the same time, through a discussion of the standards of truth, we began to learn the truth from facts, thereby being loosely tied to reality, separating from reality, yet again the practice of research was restored and developed.

At the same time, we have that current years are still the time of the people's high enthusiasm and the people's high enthusiasm. It is not only the people's high enthusiasm upon the Communist Party spirit and the people's high enthusiasm for a long time, we continued to living. The people's high enthusiasm and confidence were "superiority" and "confidence" in the same extent to pursue the people's reasonable and the people's high enthusiasm for the people.

It is not that there have been some mistakes, without some research, the people's high enthusiasm and confidence is not so great. In fact, it is, in fact, the people's high enthusiasm for the people.



1. They think that their tenure in a certain place or position having been long, and their perception of conditions being good enough, they can get by for a while even without doing any research.

2. They feel that since they have worked at a particular job for many years, they have already "mastered" it, and that even without research, they are able to analyze the main points of a matter.

3. They think that they are too busy to take time out for doing research.

4. They feel that grassroot's work being too taxing, just going to take a look will suffice; in depth systematic investigation and study is unnecessary.

5. They believe that research is a matter for upper level leadership organs; since they themselves are not policymaking organs, even if they did research, it wouldn't have much effect.

6. They think that copying and passing orders on down from upper levels is good enough; no matter whether or not they themselves investigate, this stuff still has to be done.

7. They make the excuse there is no program or structure for research; neither do they themselves engage in research, nor do they organize other departments to conduct research.

In brief, investigation and study are regarded as something expendable, not as a basic task of the leading organs or as the primary responsibility of the leading organs and the broad cadre ranks.

Therefore, currently there is a great need for some emphasis upon the fact that whether or not one engages in research is not an ordinary issue, that it touches upon the problem of whether or not the leading organs produce subjectivism, the major issue of whether or not party spirit can be preserved, and the important aspect of whether or not party style can be preserved, and the important aspect of whether or not party style can be fundamentally improved. Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out at the Fifth Session of the Fifth Party Congress, "We definitely must immerse ourselves in the masses and in reality and, doing systematic research, resolutely sweep away the bad habit of deciding major issues subjectively without investigation and study." We must see that within our leading organs, issues decided upon sometimes not fitting reality, lower level implementation running into difficulties, some policy decisions being faulty and mistakes being made through bias in one direction or another are, at root, problems of subjectivism.

We should do some comparing of the decisions of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong's discussion and consider how well we actually understand them. Have we, after all, prepared a place for it? Is it regarded as a fundamental task or primary responsibility? How should it be strengthened in the future? All of these would be very beneficial.

As we have seen, it is not connecting research with the principles of Marxism that should be mentioned is that when some comrades engage in research they do not insist upon these principles. For instance:

1. Some comrades get involved in research to prove a certain personal viewpoint correct. After they go into the field, on the first place, they take no time to collect materials, and in the second, not heeding the opinions of the masses and the masses, they merely try every means to collect material which fits their own viewpoint. This kind of research is of no use at all without benefit, it is, on the contrary, even more harmful because to his erroneous view, the researcher adds a whole lot of so-called factual evidence from which right and wrong become completely confused.

2. Some comrades do research which serves the needs of a certain political group. In their investigations, instead of starting from reality or taking an objective truth as a basis, in order to accommodate a certain political estimate, they obstinately call red black and black red or right wrong, and vice versa.

3. Other comrades, right being told, reputation is the watchword. When they go into the field, they get involved in a conflict between more than one department, rather than speaking fairly or reporting a situation as it is, they make a big conflict and cover up the actual state of affairs. They do not only causing it to be incorrectly resolved, but also making the situation in solving it. What is more, there are comrades who take note of which department's reputation is the stronger and then they go to that department and speak up for it.

4. Some comrades, afraid of departure in the leadership approach, not only do not do research, these comrades do not put their hearts into collecting materials and making objective conclusions; rather, they dwell on the fact that their leader likes or does not like to hear. They only report only the good news and not the bad, or just the bad news and not the good. Only does this kind of investigation do nothing to the leadership. On the contrary, it can only be detrimental.

5. Some comrades put forward their demand for good and evil. In their research, these comrades are able to collect some materials; however, they do not make any objective conclusions, but only opinions from all sides. They are not objective because they have an individual standard of good and evil. They only report from things they are used and naturally believe their own. Although this kind of investigation collects a good amount of materials, but if it is not, it is of no use at all.

6. Some comrades, in the book, during my collection, that these comrades do not have something to say in objective. They only collect in books or newspapers, or expanded kind of investigation, which is repeated what the newspapers or the newspapers of the field, what pick up some news or some new types; but it is of very little use. It is only a kind of collection.

Therefore, just as whether or not we engage in research is an issue of party spirit, how to engage in research is one, also. Not only do we need to stress understanding and having a high regard for research in the light of the principles of party spirit, but we must also emphasize using these principles to guide research and rectify the problem of its having an impure party spirit.

### III. Investigation Must Begin with the Simplest, Most Common and Basic Problems

This idea, which has great inspiration and relevance toward our research endeavors, was stressed by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his discussion "On the Problem of Ideological and Political Work." Since essential problems are often hidden behind the most frequently observed and ordinary phenomena, when we depart from these most common phenomena, it becomes very difficult for us to discover the essential problems. However, it is true that for a long time we have not fully understood this. Now it is rather crucial for us to emphasize it in our research.

Marx's study of capitalist society begins with a study of commodities.

Lenin had extraordinary praise for Marx's research method. In the article "On the Question of Dialectics", he said: "In 'Das Kapital,' Marx first analyzes the simplest, most ordinary and fundamental, most common and everyday relation of bourgeois (commodity) society, a relation encountered billions of times--the exchange of commodities. In this very simple phenomenon (in this 'cell' of bourgeois society) analysis reveals all the contradictions (or the germs of all the contradictions) of modern society. The subsequent exposition shows us the development (both growth and movement) of these contradictions and of this society in the summation of its individual parts, from its beginning to its end." After making the above statement, Lenin goes on to say, "Such must also be the method of exposition (or study) of dialectics in general... .. Begin with what is the simplest, most ordinary, common, and so on." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Lenin pointed out that in 'Das Kapital' Marx made this sort of exemplary analysis. This is the method which ought to be used in studying the developmental process of anything. Lenin himself also made correct use of it, following it in all of his works.... We Chinese communists must learn this method in order to be able to analyze correctly the history and present condition of the Chinese revolution and to make inferences about the revolution's future."

To study the theory of the state, Engels also starts from the most common, simplest, most basic and most primitive family and private property. In his book "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," he applies a great amount of material from Morgan's work "Ancient Society" to his fully penetrating and thorough analysis of "the state." Lenin called this work one of the main works of modern socialism. He further stated: "I refer to this book because it gives the correct approach to

the question mentioned. It begins with a historical sketch of the origin of the state.... To approach this question as scientifically as possible, the most reliable, the most necessary and the most important thing is not to forget the underlying historical connection, to examine every question from the standpoint of how the given phenomenon arose in history and what were the principal stages in its development, and, from the standpoint of its development, to examine what it has become today." ("The State")

Comrade Mao Zedong's theory about Chinese armed revolution also began with the simplest, most common, fundamental and primitive problem. What was this simplest, most common, fundamental and primitive problem, then? It was: "How can the enemy oppress the people? That is, because he carries a sword. What is a sword used for? To kill people. On the basis of this simplest of problems of the sword, Mao studied the theory of Chinese armed struggle. He said: "Chiang Kai-shek always tries to impose war on the people, one sword in his left hand and another in his right. We take up swords, too, following his example. We found this method only after investigation and study. Such investigation and study are very important. When we see the other fellow holding something in his hands, we should do some investigating. What does he hold in his hands? Swords. What are swords for? For killing. Whom does he want to kill with his swords? The people. Having made these findings, we investigate further: the Chinese people, too, have hands and can take up swords; they can forge a sword if there is none handy. The Chinese people have discovered this truth after long investigation and study. Warlords, landlords, local bullies and bad gentry and the imperialists all have swords and are out to kill. The people have come to understand this and so act after the same fashion. Some of us often neglect such investigation and study. Chen Duxiu, for example, did not understand that with swords one can kill people. Some say that this is a plain everyday truth; how can a leader of the Communist Party fail to know it? But you can never tell. He made no investigation and study and so did not understand this." ("Kang Ri Zhazheng Shengli Hou de Shiju he Women de Fangshen" [The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan]) Chen Duxiu did not investigate and study the simplest, most ordinary, fundamental and primitive everyday truth about semifeudal and semicolonial societies; so he just did not understand the most fundamental problem that the Chinese revolution simply must wage an armed struggle.

Of course, this does not mean that no matter what investigation we are undertaking, we must begin with an analysis of commodities in the way that Marx studied capitalism, nor does it mean that we start with the swords taken up by our enemies as did Comrade Mao's study of the Chinese revolution, but it does mean that we must establish a fundamental materialistic standpoint, a sound work style and dialectical method. When we want to clarify an issue and attain knowledge, we must proceed with it from its base, begin with the original state of things, in order to be able to make clear the causes and effects. The Song Dynasty's Juxi said: "I wondered why the stream was so clear; the answer was that from its source the water flows continuously." When we investigate and study

a given problem, we must certainly first find its source, clarify its origin. We definitely must pursue it to a source, getting to the bottom of the matter. Otherwise our work will not be sound; we will just know results, not causes. We will be unable to withstand the test of history and will lack historical vitality. When we carry out our investigations and study issues, why do we not pay attention to a few of the simplest, most ordinary and fundamental commonly encountered problems? It is because we do not understand that it is particularly behind the simplest, most common of problems that the essential ones lie hidden.

#### IV. Points to Consider for Investigation Methods

Now that we have seen the current state of investigation activities, the following methods deserve our notice:

1. Many types of objects of investigation and study must be given attention. Currently those who see good are many, while those who see the bad are few; very seldom do people take the middle road.
2. Not only must research have contact with the cadres; even more importantly, it must have more contact with the masses. This is because frequently important conditions exist which one seldom hears from the cadres.
3. The topics of some of the problems to be learned through investigation and research can be posed in advance, letting the other party make some preparations so that he can speak more systematically and in depth.
4. There are many advantages to holding household interviews. Such interviewing is an important factor in making investigations as thorough as possible.
5. Opposing views are to be valued; ideological patterns need not be finalized prematurely.
6. We must pay attention to checking the truth of a situation.
7. Newly manifested problems must be given attention. In the process of investigation, there are those who frequently adopt an attitude of lightly dismissing problems they had originally not thought of or which newly arise. This is not to be tolerated.
8. While discussing the investigation of an object, we should not offer our own viewpoint too soon or, even less, proceed with criticism or show inattention toward a viewpoint different from ours, making the other party unable to continue. If, in the process of his discussion, we discover problems which need to be brought up, we must still wait until he has clearly explained his viewpoint, and then raise questions in an elicitive and consultative tone which will allow him to fully express his opinion.



9. We must concern ourselves with the making and balancing of accounts. When we hear the object of an investigation discuss figures, we should not merely listen; we must also think about these figures. Where the relationships are very important, calculations must be made; this way we can discover problems in the other party's figures and lead him to discuss them to function to the best of their ability.

11. We must, whenever necessary, sift through and select from the already existing material, especially sorting out the typical and outstanding cases without delay.

12. Investigation and study are to be combined. We must continuously investigate and not wait until our investigation is complete to pile up the studies of it.

13. We must have a keen sense for casual remarks conveying important information to a listener, paying special attention to problems casually blurted out by the object of our investigation. Sometimes, slips of the tongue, more often than not, can even express more truthful thoughts.

14. We must have a spirit of humility in our questioning. During an investigation, especially leadership cadres will discover many things they do not understand; if one doesn't understand, he just does not understand and must get to the bottom of a matter to obtain clarification; he must not deceive himself by pretending to know.

15. When views diverge over complex problems, opinions from all sides must be heard and then compared to eliminate the false and retain the true; by no means should one listen only to what one person says or even less harbor any prejudice.

16. Bases of investigation must be established. Sites already investigated should not be left with but one investigation; some of them can be made personal bases with which one maintains contact for continued research. After a period of time, one can proceed with a second investigation and, using current and former data to make a comparison, can obtain results unexpected on the basis of the initial investigation. When such results are accumulated, they will be highly beneficial toward systematically upgrading one's knowledge.

17. Research is a process by which one experiments and discovers and then experiments anew and makes fresh discoveries. The developmental transformation of the objective world is eternal and human knowledge and research are boundless.

18. It is the "enlightened" who should participate in the work of research.



## V. One Must Be Good at Learning

For the leading organs, investigation and study is a fundamental mission, and for each revolutionary cadre, his primary responsibility, his basic contribution to politics. Therefore, the way for us to become competent at investigation and study is to learn it as a branch of science. Marx wrote "Das Kapital" and Lenin "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," "Imperialism" and other works, both men accomplishing a great amount of research. To write "Das Kapital," Marx not only read 1,500 books he also engaged directly in research in the typical capitalistic nation of Britain. When Lenin's "Imperialism" was published, it was a thin little volume, but, in its preparation, the written notes composed altogether two large thick volumes, a great many times more material than the book. Comrades Mao Zedong, Chen Yun and Ren Bishi are the models of research within our party. On the one hand, we must study their brilliant expositions on investigation and study, but on the other, it is even more important to learn their approach to research. Besides making his own investigations personally, Mao Zedong was good at using the results of other researchers to direct work: for instance, during the period of land reform, the three nationally famous exemplary experiences (publically rectifying the party in Hebei's Pingshan County, dividing up the land in Huangjiachuan in Suide County and how land reform was conducted in Shanxi's Chun County) were approved and advocated throughout the country by Mao Zedong himself, who personally commented upon them. Comrade Ren Bishi made excellent use of typical investigations: for example, his whole report "A Few Problems of Land Reform" focused upon one typical case--namely, the investigation of Caijiaya in Shanxi's Xing County; he made vivid use of this material, using it naturally and powerfully. Chairman Mao praised him very highly, saying that, in thoroughly understanding a single representative case, Ren Bishi had solved a national problem. He questioned why we insist on dividing up the crows on earth into Chinese, foreign, southern and northern crows since they are all the same color of black. Of course, this was said in reference to another subject, but its significance is in its representation, in its ability to use the typical; this is not to say that one must merely seize upon one point and then apply it loosely to another problem. Comrade Chen Yun himself made many investigations, of which especially worth our study is his speech to the Political Bureau on the problem of iron-clad directives, an unusually penetrating investigation. It proceeds from one point to another, from the outside to the inside, and is a well-rounded analysis which comes to a conclusion corresponding with reality. To achieve all of this it is necessary to summarize reality and advance our study so as to be able to continuously raise the standard of our research. I suggest that the following works are very significant in guiding investigation and study: the "Preface and Postscript to the 'Rural Survey'" by Comrade Mao, a commentary of his on "How Chun County in Shanxi Conducted Land Reform" and his "Combating Book Worship"; Comrade Chen Yun's "Rural Surveys in Qing Pu," his speech to the Political Bureau meeting on the problem of implementing iron-clad directives and his speech "How We Can Make Our Understanding A Little More Comprehensive"; and Comrade Ren Bishi's report, "Some Problems of Land Reform."

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### QIN JIWEI PRAISES ZHU DE'S MORAL CHARACTER

OW160635 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2340 GMT 15 Aug 83

[Text] We now broadcast excerpts of an article by Qin Jiwei, commander of the Beijing PLA units, recalling Comrade Zhu De's lofty moral character in never claiming credit for himself nor bragging about his contributions:

Comrade Zhu De was a senior revolutionary who performed outstanding meritorious service and was one of the founders of our army and our state. His life covered the years since the 1911 revolution in China. Determined to save the country, he took active part in various anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggles in his early years such as the 1911 Revolution, the 1915 war to overthrow Yuan Shikai and the 1917 war to defend the provisional constitution. After he joined the Communist Party of China, Comrade Zhu De kept on fighting even more heroically in a brand new spirit as a communist fighter despite setbacks. He took part in and led the famous Nanchang Uprising, led the troops to link up with Comrade Mao Zedong at Jinggangshan and joined Comrade Mao in opening up the central revolutionary base area and in founding the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. Since then, the names of Zhu and Mao have become inseparably connected to each other and have spread everywhere. Zhu and other revolutionaries of the older generation later led the Agrarian Revolutionary War, the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Liberation War and the socialist revolution and construction.

In more than half a century of revolutionary struggle, he made immortal contributions to the founding and development of the people's army and the strategy and tactics of people's war. He contributed to the establishment and expansion of the revolutionary base areas, to overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and to winning victories in the new democratic revolution. He also contributed to the founding of our revolutionary regime, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the promotion of socialist revolution and construction, and the strengthening of party leadership and party building.

Comrade Zhu De made all-out efforts for the people and to the cause of the proletarian revolution. His contributions were indeed great, but he never claimed credit for himself nor did he brag about his contributions. He always gave the credit to the people, the party and other leaders of the party. He said on many occasions: How do we make achievements? Do we not rely on the

strength of the party and the masses to make achievements? I should not brag about my own ability. When others give me credit, I will pass the credit on to others. I hope that you will also pass the credit on to others.

Comrade Zhu De's style of giving credit to others showed in a concentrated way a proletarian revolutionary's Marxist stand and attitude toward the relations between an individual and the masses, the party and other leaders of the party. He correctly understood the historical role of individuals and the masses and firmly believed that the people are the makers of history and the decisive force pushing the society forward. Comrade Zhu De always held that a person cannot do anything nor accomplish anything if he is divorced from the masses' struggle and that an individual's role, no matter how great, is insignificant when compared with the great role of the masses as a whole.

In the article "The Heroism of the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army, he profoundly pointed out: Only the collective strength of the masses is the great force that creates the world and makes history. An individual's strength is but a drop in the ocean when compared with this great force.

It was because of this viewpoint that Comrade Zhu De always gave all the credit to the people first. He never liked publicity about himself.

In handling relations between an individual and the party, Comrade Zhu De was also a good example to follow. He pointed out: Under the leadership of the Communist Party, everyone can fully develop his talents and creativeness in revolutionary undertakings for the people and can devote more of his energy and contribute more to the revolutionary cause.

We might say that his thinking that only under the party leadership can a person fully play his role was a summing-up of his experience. The failure of the 1911 Revolution, the practical struggles and the influence of the October Revolution made him understand that the old democratic revolution would not work and only the Communist Party could save China. He therefore resolutely gave up a high position and pay, traveled about overseas and finally located our party organization in Germany. He joined the Communist Party of China through the introduction of Comrade Zhou Enlai.

Trained and educated by the party, Comrade Zhu De soon changed from a nationalist into a conscientious communist fighter and from an old-fashioned armyman into an outstanding party and army leader.

He said from the bottom of his heart: I did not really have a new life until I joined the Communist Party.

As a true Marxist, Comrade Zhu De not only fully affirmed the great role of the masses of people and the party but consistently affirmed the tremendous role of the leaders of the masses as history advances. In the protracted course of the Chinese revolution, the party has produced a strong corps of leaders composed of well-tempered revolutionaries of the older generation who, having led the Chinese revolution and construction to glorious victories, enjoy high esteem and prestige in the party and among the masses. As an important member of this corps of leaders, Comrade Zhu De played a vital role

in leading the party, the state and the army. However, whenever comrades of the party and the masses praised his contributions, he always sincerely credited other leaders of the party. He oftenly praised other leading comrades such as Enlai, Shaoqi, Xiaoping and Chen Yun for their talents and contributions and spoke highly of the achievements of other veteran generals in leading the army, never talking about himself.

In this corps of leaders, Comrade Mao Zedong played a central role. This was the natural result of past struggles. Ever since he joined forces with Comrade Mao Zedong at Jinggangshan, Comrade Zhu De fought side by side with Chairman Mao for decades. He always took a clear-cut stand and wholeheartedly defended and protected Comrade Mao Zedong's position and role as a leader. At critical moments, he always stood firmly on the side of Chairman Mao. Commonplace, modest and forgiving character within the party and among the masses. As early as before the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade (Xue Fanqin) wrote the following poem in his praise:

Fighting behind enemy lines, you never claimed any credit,  
Steeled in countless battles, you are a real hero,  
People don't know you as a general,  
Because, being simple, you look like a countryfellow.

American writer Smedley said that Zhu De was great because of his commonplaceness which precisely reflects his greatness. Edgar Snow said that Zhu De's character and personality appealed to whoever came in contact with him. We should say that Comrade Zhu De was an outstanding representative of the Chinese people. Many of the fine virtues of the Chinese nation could all be found in him.

Comrade Zhu De had many fine virtues and habitually credited others because he had a firm proletarian world outlook and was good at applying the historical materialist principle in discerning and analyzing problems. He is really a model for the whole party in correctly handling relations between oneself and the masses of people and between oneself and the party.

The party's 12th National Congress formulated the grand program of "creating a new situation in all fields for socialist modernizations," putting forth important measures for strengthening and improving the party's leadership. Under the new historical condition and on the eve of all-round party rectification, there is no mistaking about what we aim at now as we study the "Selected Works of Zhu De," study his many theses on the relations between individuals and the masses of people and between individuals and the party and learn from his great revolutionary practice of claiming no credit even though he made great contributions and exerted his utmost all his life for the party and the people, that is, by fostering communist ideas, carrying forward the party's fine tradition, correcting unhealthy tendencies and bringing about a fundamental change for the better in party style.

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

**CPCCC-COMPILED BOOK ON PATRIOTISM**--Beijing, 12 Aug (XINHUA)--"Views on Strengthening Propaganda and Education in Patriotism" compiled by the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department and the Research Center of its Secretariat will soon be published in book form by the GUANGMING RIBAO Publishing House and distributed throughout the country by the XINHUA Bookstore. "Views on Strengthening Propaganda and Education in Patriotism" is a comprehensive discussion on the significance of strengthening the education in patriotism, the substance of patriotism in the different historical periods in our country and the issue of how to strengthen the education in patriotism at present. The book also contains the following four articles: "Patriotism and Communism Are the Core of the Education in Political Theory in Institutions of Higher Learning" by Deng Liqun, "Patriotism Is an Immense Spiritual Strength for Building Socialism" by Zheng Bijian, "HONGQI" journal's commentator's article "From Patriotism to Communism" and "The Historical Development Path of the Patriotism of Modern China" by Zheng Zhongbing and Peng Xiangfu. [Text] [OW121314 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0904 GMT 12 Aug 83]

**PENH DEHUI HONORED**--The former home of proletarian revolutionary Comrade Peng Dehuai in (Pengjiaweizi), (Wushizhai), Xiangtan County, Hunan, has been repaired and will be officially opened to the public on 1 August. Comrade Deng Xiaoping wrote the horizontal board: "Comrade Peng Dehuai's Former Home" and Comrade Chen Yun wrote an inscription for Comrade Peng Dehuai's former home which reads in full: "Comrade Peng Dehuai was a heroic communist fighter." Placed inside the restored home of Comrade Peng Dehuai is a color picture of Comrade Peng Dehuai in a marshal's uniform. In addition, more than 50 photos of Comrade Peng Dehuai, taken during different periods, and more than 30 items that he left behind are on display. Also on display are Comrade Peng Dehuai's 10,000-word letter to the party Central Committee in 1959 and manuscripts of his talks during two fact-finding trips back home in 1958 and 1961. These manuscripts reflect Comrade Peng Dehuai's revolutionary spirit in upholding the truth, seeking truth from facts, being upright and never stooping to flattery, selflessness and fearlessness. [Text] [OW310232 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 28 Jul 83]

WORK ON DACHAN ISLAND--["Letter from Dachan Island Thanking Youths for Pledging To Devote Themselves To Constructing the Treasure Island"]--Comrade Editor: Since your newspaper published the report about the 31 young pioneers in the reclamation team who wrote a letter to Hu Yaobang, and the new story entitled "On the Land of Pioneers," we have received nearly 700 letters from people applying to work on Dachan Island. Some comrades have even come to this island by traveling long distances. Because of the limitation of conditions in all fields on the island, it is [word indistinct] for us to receive so many applicants for the time being; instead, we can only try to transfer some educational and medical personnel and some university graduates to the island through organizational channels. Here, we express our full understanding and deep thanks to the youths who are resolved to dedicate themselves to constructing Dachan Island. The CPC Committee of Dachan township, Jiaojiang City, Zhejiang Province [Text] [HK040410 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 83 p 4]

CSO: 4005/1089



LAW ENFORCEMENT STRENGTHENED IN ZHEJIANG

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 May 83 p 2

[Article by Zhang Shixiang [I728 0013 438]: "Excerpts of the Work Report of the Zhejiang People's Procuratorate Made at the 24 April Meeting of the First Session of the Sixth Zhejiang People's Congress"]

[Text] According to the provisions of the constitution, the People's Procuratorate is the legal supervisory organ of the state. It bears the important duty of protecting the socialist legal system and guaranteeing unified enforcement of the law. After the various procuratorate levels were reestablished in our province, earnestly enforcing the "Penal Code," the "Criminal Litigation Procedures" and the "Organic Law of the People's Procuratorate," they step by step launched such items of professional work as criminal investigations, legal and disciplinary inspections and economic and prison inspections in order to rectify the society's security and safeguard the focus upon the four modernizations. Utilizing the weapon of the law to attack enemies, punishing criminals and protecting the people, they have done a great amount of work and achieved rather obvious accomplishments.

Since June of last year, the various procuratorate levels have conscientiously and thoroughly implemented the congress's resolutions, launching in all sectors various aspects of inspection operations with the priority of combating grave economic offenders and restoring the security of the society. And, in order to consolidate and develop a political image of stability and unity and to guarantee the building of the socialist modernizations, they have proceeded with intensive combat, fully performing their roles as organs of legal supervision.

1. The procuratorate fully exercised its inspection function, powerfully combating the activities of grave economic offenders.

Attacking the activities of grave offenders in the economic sphere is one of the key guarantees for realizing the building of the socialist modernizations, and it is a function of the procuratorate organ to implement legal supervision, a key part of serving the building of the four modernizations. Since June of last year, cadres and police at various levels of the procuratorial organization have become deeply involved in studying and thoroughly implementing the "Decision to Combat the Activities of Grave Offenders in the Economic

Sphere" of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council and the "Decision to Severely Punish Criminals Who Gravely Destroy the Economy" of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; coordinating the concerned departments to concentrate their energies on making the main direction of attack inspection and participation in state organs and in the internal departments of enterprise units, as well as in significant and pressing cases where harm and influence are great and society response vehement, they powerfully attacked grave economic offenders and instructed the cadres and the masses.

After the CPC Central Committee and the State Council's "Urgent Directive on Preventing Wanton Deforestation," which aimed at the seriousness of the decimation of forests in many areas of our province, was ordered, under the condition of some severe and important cases of forest destruction being unforcefully attacked and punished, cadres from the two levels of provincial and branch (municipal) offices were transferred into forest priority zones where the destruction had been most severe to inspect, supervise and urge in cases of grave deforestation; they assisted in the inspection and handling of important cases of this nature and had the substantial impact of curbing this abuse.

In the struggle to combat the activities of grave economic offenders, various procuratorate levels throughout the province have earnestly and thoroughly implemented the set of principles and policies and the state laws of the party's Central Committee, strictly defined the boundaries between guilt and innocence, insisted upon strictly and swiftly attacking the extremely small number of economic offenders and divisive subversion, taught and saved the principle of mutual cooperation of the majority and carried out the policy of leniency for those who confess and severity with those who resist. In cases where guilt and innocence could not be distinguished clearly at one time, they insisted upon prudent treatment, initially handling the cases as innocence. Cases for which punishment had already been meted out were given a review. Those for which incorrect punishment had been handed down were rectified without delay. For proper economic activities which complied with the policies and the law, protection was resolutely provided. This way, not only were the activities of grave economic offenders combated, but the opening of the door to foreign interests and the revival of the domestic economy were benefited.

2. The procuratorate strengthened the work of criminal investigation and continued to follow the law to punish flagrant criminals severely and swiftly.

Since June of last year, all levels of the procuratorate in our province have further strengthened the examination and validation of arrests, the investigation of complaints and appearances in court to support the work of public prosecution; they have actively cooperated with such concerned departments as those of public security and judiciary in continuing to deal severely and swiftly in accordance with the law with murderers, arsonists, robbers, rapists, bomb setters and other criminals who are serious threats to the society's security. At the same time, they distinguished the seriousness of cases and treated each differently, doing the best they could to diminish the combatant aspect and expand the educational.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the provisions of the legal code, they launched supervision over the investigative activities of public security organs and the prosecution activities of the judiciary. And, implementing measures of civilized management, they brought order to the prisons, rectified some illegal practices, resolutely attacked resistance to reform and introduced projects to reform repeated offenders in cooperation with public security organs and labor reform and educational units. In addition, various localities proceeded with inspections of sentencing and control, imprisonment and suspension of sentences and sentences of paroles served outside of prison and cooperated with concerned departments to strengthen supervisory management in order to prevent and lessen repeated offenses.

3. The procuratorate actively launched legal and disciplinary supervision, waging a struggle against illegal criminal behavior which infringes upon the democratic rights of citizens.

Both the 12th CPC Congress and the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress pointed out emphatically that building a socialist material and spiritual civilization depends upon our being assured of the continued strengthening of the socialist democracy. The new constitution made even more explicit the provisions for protecting the democratic right of citizens and intensified the struggle against illegal criminal behavior among state workers, this struggle being an important function entrusted to the procuratorial organs by the constitution and the legal code. In accordance with the demands of the Fourth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress that "The Work of Legal and Disciplinary Supervision Must Be Strengthened," since June of last year, actively publicizing and implementing every article of the law, closely depending upon the masses of people and getting rid of interference and resistance, the various levels of the provincial procuratorate has conscientiously investigated and meted out punishment for criminal cases where the democratic rights of citizens were infringed upon by forced confessions, illegal detainments, illegal searches, false charges, frame-ups in reprisal, false witnessing or concealment of evidence, infringements upon the citizens' freedom of communication, dereliction of duty and bending of the law for the benefit of friends and relatives. General cases of illegal or criminal behavior which were so slight that no search for criminal responsibility was necessary have already been transferred to the concerned departments for punishment by party or governmental discipline.

In the fight waged against illegal criminal activity which infringes upon the democratic rights of citizens, the various procuratorate levels in the province, upholding the principle of everyone being equal before the law, handled affairs strictly according to the law; they observed the legal code, carrying out legal supervision over the minority of state workers with illegal or undisciplined behavior.

4. The procuratorate approved the handling of cases and actively participated in coordinated control.

The various procuratorate levels in the province have made the approval of cases and participation in coordinated control important functions of the

Through many forms, such as the appearance in court for public prosecution, the preparation of sample data on guiding cases and sending out cadres to propagandize, they conducted propaganda and education about the legal system to strengthen the concept of this system among the masses of the people. In the handling of cases where leaks were found in the management of the internal divisions of units or in the system, they made proposals for change and helped implement preventive measures. They insisted upon the work of educating, correcting and rescuing common juveniles with illegal or criminal records. They cooperated with concerned departments to research teaching assistance measures, to fix periodic inspections and urge change in situations where violators of the law and criminals have not been apprehended, where they have not been prosecuted or where they are exempt from prosecution.

In dealing with letters and visits from the masses, the various procuratorate levels gave special attention to investigating and handling without delay contradictions and easily aggravated situations and complaint and petition cases in the letters and visits of habitues; they prevented contradictions and aggravation and continued to review and rehabilitate several unjust, false or misjudged cases.

5. The quality of the procuratorate ranks was further upgraded.

Since the Fourth Session of the province's Fifth People's Congress, with each procuratorate level throughout the province conscientiously taking up the rectification and building of the procuratorate ranks and upgrading their political and professional quality, there has emerged a group of advanced individuals who struggle when they see suffering, who do not fear difficulty, whose standpoint is firm, who, in being upright and outspoken, pander to no one, and who enforce the law impartially.

The CPC's 12th Congress stipulated the glorious aim of our state's building of the socialist modernizations and proposed within 5 years to realize the combat mission of a basic improvement in the financial and economic condition of the state and the mood of the society and the party and to develop our socialist democracy, strengthening the demands upon the socialist legal system. The announcement and enforcement of the new constitution symbolizes that the development of our nation's socialist democracy and the building of the legal system have entered a new phase. With the 12th CPC Congress and the new constitution as our guiding ideology, in the future the key tasks of the work of our province's procuratorate are to increase the conscious transfer of the procuratorate's priority to building the socialist modernizations in order to ensure a focus upon economic conditions, to more wholly and competently assume the function of legal supervision bestowed upon the procuratorate organs by the constitution, to resolutely wage the fight against all criminal behavior which violates the constitution and the legal code, to really safeguard the democratic rights of the citizens, to continue to firmly maintain the attack upon the activities of grave economic offenders and rectify the society's security, to launch overall every aspect of the procuratorate profession, to energetically upgrade quality and effectiveness in the handling of cases and to allow the social repercussions of such cases to be fully exerted.

We must be inspired with certain enthusiasm, have the courage to reform, remain faithful in the discharge of our duties, enforce the law impartially and work energetically to make our own contribution toward attaining a fundamental improvement of the security of society in our province.

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## EAST REGION

### 'TURN FOR BETTER' IN SHANGHAI'S PARTY STYLE URGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 18 May 83 p 3

[Article by Wang Yaoshan [3769 1031 1472]: "Work Hard for the Fastest Possible Realization of a Fundamental Turn for the Better in Shanghai's Party Style, Implement the Spirit of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission"]

[Text] The Second Plenary Session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission was a very important session. Based on the demands put forward by the 12th CPC Congress and the new party constitution, this session analyzed, in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, the present state of the party's style, expounded on the necessity and urgency of rectifying the party's style, summed up new experiences in discipline inspection work, analyzed the reasons for the fact that a fundamental turn for the better has not yet been effected in the party's style, studied the objective conditions for realizing a fundamental turn for the better in the party's style, and put forward the major tasks and practical measures for working hard for the fastest possible realization of a fundamental turn for the better in the party's style, so that we have become clearer about the guiding ideology and the principles and policies of discipline inspection work and have increased our confidence in and our sense of responsibility for a fundamental turn for the better in the Shanghai party's style.

#### The Basic Situation in the Party's Work Style in This Municipality

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and particularly since the 5th Plenary Session, party organizations in Shanghai, under the leadership of the municipal party committee, have resolutely brought order out of chaos, constantly corrected unhealthy tendencies, and done much work. In Shanghai, there has been a distinct turn for the better in the party's style and unhealthy tendencies have been weakened. This is mainly manifested in: 1) The municipal party committee has resolutely implemented the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the 12th CPC Congress; has implemented the directives of the party Central Committee with regard to Shanghai's work; and, focusing on the problem that in the past the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session was not transmitted fully and deeply, and on the inadequacies existing in carrying out the party's ideological, political, and organizational lines, has taken a series of measures. Most party members



and cadres have gradually come to understand that the essence of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session is to bring order out of chaos in an overall manner; have come to understand that the 3d Plenary Session was a great turn in the course of events; have consciously cleared up the "leftist" ideological influence; have made a point of overcoming the influence of bourgeois liberalization, have vigorously solved the problem of the "three inadequacies"; have raised their consciousness with regard to thoroughly implementing the line, policies and principles since the 3d Plenary Session; and have strengthened their consciousness of maintaining political unity with the party Central Committee. 2) Many party organizations have reversed the past abnormal state of intraparty political life, and the principle of democratic centralism has gained respect. 3) Under the leadership of party organizations at all levels, most party members and cadres are conscientiously studying and thoroughly implementing the party constitution and the "Guiding Principles," raising their consciousness of straightening out the party's style, earnestly maintaining party discipline and struggling against unhealthy tendencies and illegal, undisciplined behavior, and some excellent party members and cadres and advanced units have emerged. 4) The organization and discipline of the majority of party members and cadres have been strengthened, as has their concept of observing discipline and obeying the law; their awareness of and capacity to resist the corrosion of the decadent ideas of capitalism have been raised. In general, in Shanghai the party organizations are good and full of fighting capacity, and most party members and cadres are good or basically good. We should be fully confident in working hard for the fastest possible realization of a fundamental turn for the better in the party's style and for ushering in a new situation in discipline inspection work.

However, we must soberly see that within Shanghai's party there still exists the problem of ideological, work style, and organizational impurities; in some places and units unhealthy tendencies and illegal and undisciplined behavior are still quite serious, and the party style has not yet really taken a fundamental turn for the better. A prominent manifestation of all this is that some party members and cadres lack the party spirit, are seriously tainted with individualism, on many questions deviate from the party constitution and violate party principles, and handle affairs in line with individual interests, likes and dislikes, and feelings of gratitude or resentment. The main problems are: 1) The attitude toward carrying out the line, principles, policies and resolutions since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is insufficiently correct. 2) The principles of collective leadership and of democratic centralism are violated, and organizational discipline is flouted. 3) On the cadre question, the principle of having both ability and political integrity is being violated. 4) There is serious bureaucratism, and a separation from reality and the masses. 5) There are a hankering after enjoyment, a seeking of special privileges in life, a use of the powers of one's office; a seeking of private advantage; some party members and cadres have already sunk into corruption and degeneration, violating law and discipline, and in the economic and other realms engaging in criminal activities. The above various kinds of unhealthy tendencies and actions that violate law and discipline, although confined to a minority of party members and cadres, are obstructions and obstacles to the speediest possible realization of a fundamental turn for the better in party style and should draw a high degree of our attention and a firm resolution to overcome and correct them.

The reasons that there has not been a fundamental turn for the better in party style are many-sided and there are objective reasons, but we should stress seeking the subjective reasons. Just as the Central Discipline Inspection Commission pointed out, at present some of our party members, mainly the party cadres, have been unable to correctly deal with the fundamental changes in position and conditions after our party came to power, and have gradually forgotten the lofty ideals of communism, have forgotten the fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly, to the extent that they have claimed credit for themselves and become arrogant, their revolutionary will has waned, and the use of the powers of one's office to seek private gain and other ideological work styles divorced from the masses have developed.

#### Several Realizations About Correcting the Party Style

The five new experiences summed up in the work report of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission epitomize in a concentrated manner the basic experiences of the entire party over the past several years in correcting party style and enforcing strict party discipline, and they are important principles for guiding our future work and for ushering in a new situation in discipline inspection work. We must conscientiously study them, correctly apply them in practice, and enrich and develop them. Following are several preliminary realizations relating to Shanghai's discipline inspection work:

1. To correct the party style, the party committees must give their full attention, the entire party must be mobilized, the leaders must take the lead, and all levels and all people must take responsibility. Since the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the municipal party committee has strengthened its leadership over discipline inspection work, has made a point of correcting the party style, has strictly enforced party discipline, has organized the whole body of party members to study and implement the Central Committee's documents concerning the correcting of the party style, has mobilized the entire party, and has made every level take responsibility. In the winter of the year before last, the municipal party committee held an organizational, personnel, and discipline inspection work conference, which made the correcting of the party style an important matter for the whole party. The responsible comrades of the municipal party committee clearly pointed out the key and leading roles of the municipal party committee, the ministry and commission offices, and the district and county bureaus in correcting the party style. If the party style of people at these several levels is good, then they will be able to lead the party members and cadres and the party members of the entire municipality to have a good party style, will be able to lead the broad masses to further do good work on all fronts and make their proper contributions to the entire country. Subsequently, the party committee also took such vigorous measures as sending out party-style inspection teams in order to implement the spirit of this conference. Through transmitting and implementing the spirit of this conference, the party organizations at all levels in the municipality strengthened the education of party members and cadres in party spirit, party style, and party discipline; conscientiously brought order out of chaos in ideology and organization; inspected and corrected unhealthy tendencies; and vigorously promoted a further turn for the better in the Shanghai party's style.

2. To correct the party style, the first task is to thoroughly implement the party's line, principles, policies, and resolutions and to ensure the maintenance of political unity between the entire party and its Central Committee. In the past several years, the leaders of the municipal party committee and the party organizations at all levels in the municipality have made extremely great efforts in this respect and have obtained marked successes. To firmly carry out the instructions of the party Central Committee, the municipal party committee, focusing on the actual situation in Shanghai, has taken a series of measures to bring order out of chaos, e.g., repeatedly conducting makeup lessons in education and solving leftover problems, purifying the "leftist" ideology, opposing bourgeois liberalization, investigating and making the acquaintance of cadres, sorting out the "three categories of people" in the leading groups; and dispatching party-style inspection teams. All these measures are extremely necessary and completely correct. We and the discipline inspection organizations of the ministries, commissions, and offices, and the district and county bureaus, consider this work an important matter and send out cadres to actively take part in it. Practice has proved that only by doing things in this way will the basics and crucial points of correcting the party style be firmly grasped and the most important tasks of discipline inspection work be carried out.

3. To correct the party style, we must comprehensively and thoroughly carry out the policy of discipline inspection work. The working policy formulated by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission of "making education and prevention primary, and first legislating and educating, so that if there is a law it must be obeyed, if there is a violation of law it must be investigated, and if the law is to be executed it must be strictly executed, so that things are done both firmly and reliably" is, as practice has proved, completely correct and extremely effective. To implement this policy, the most important thing is the education of party members and cadres in the party spirit, party style, and party discipline, so that they constantly raise their ideological consciousness and political quality and consciously do things in accord with the party constitution and the "Guiding Principles." However, making education primary must be supplemented by exercising strict discipline; education and discipline complement each other, and neither can be lacking. Only by doing things in this way will we be able to both avoid the "leftist" mistaken way of doing things and protect the enforcement of party discipline, and it will be of advantage in educating and rescuing comrades who have committed mistakes and in promoting unity within the party.

#### Strive To Usher in a New Situation in Discipline Inspection Work

To realize as fast as possible a fundamental turn for the better in party style is a major task of the whole party. In 1983, in order to strive for a greater turn for the better in Shanghai's party style, party organizations at all levels in the municipality must thoroughly implement the series of important stipulations of the 12th CPC Congress concerning discipline inspection work; persist in stressing the grasping of the policy on party style; ensure that the entire party, with one heart and mind and keeping in step, fulfill the strategic tasks put forward by the 12th CPC Congress; ensure the smooth progress of the construction of the four modernizations and every reform; make

good ideological preparations for launching this winter an overall consolidation of the party organization; and lay a solid foundation for realizing as fast as possible a fundamental turn for the better in party style. For this purpose, party organizations at all levels must continue to carry on the spirit of the party committees giving their full attention, of the whole party getting to work, of the leaders taking the lead, and of imposing responsibility at all levels and on everyone. Stress must be laid on doing well the following jobs:

1. Strengthen the education of party members and cadres in party spirit, party style and party discipline in order to make good ideological preparations for the launching this winter of an overall consolidation of the party organization. To educate the party members and cadres in party spirit, party style and party discipline with the documents of the 12th CPC Congress and the party constitution as the main content is both a "capital construction" project and a task of top priority in correcting party style and enforcing party discipline. In accordance with the spirit of the Central Committee's documents and the municipal party committee's "Notice on the Second-Stage Arrangements for Studying the Documents of the 12th CPC Congress," we are now thoroughly integrating the task with actual circumstances. On the basis of studying and understanding the relevant documents of the Central Committee, first of all the ministries, commissions, and offices and the party committees (party groups) of prefectures and counties must, based on the main problems currently existing in party style, hold special meetings and make comparisons and inspections. During the inspection, they must closely relate to the reality of ideology and work, implement the spirit of rectification, start from the desire for unity, make criticism and self-criticism in the manner of seeking truth from facts and of "a gentle breeze and a mild rain," add to achievements, correct mistakes, augment the party spirit, strengthen unity and consciously maintain political unity with the party Central Committee. The discipline inspection organizations, while getting a good grip on their self-study and comparison inspections, must, according to the dispositions of the municipal party committee, help the party committee to get a good grip on this work. The discipline inspection organizations must also dispatch certain forces to conduct, together with the relevant departments, conscientious investigations of the situation obtaining in party organizations and among party members and cadres; to take part in carrying out tests at selected points of consolidating the party organization; and to sum up model experiences--all in order to make good preparations for launching a comprehensive consolidation of the party organization.

2. Try hard to ensure the thorough implementation of the party's eight-point policy for the economy. The tasks of Shanghai's economic construction are extremely arduous. Discipline inspection commissions at all levels certainly must, based on the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress and the national work conference, continue to ensure the thorough implementation of the policy of "readjustment, restructuring, reorganization, and upgrading" and to ensure the concentration of forces to carry out the construction of the state's key projects. With regard to the small number of people who run counter to the relevant policies and regulations of the party and state, who intentionally put up obstacles, who hinder the centralized unity of the economy, who adversely



affect the state's key construction, and who engage in other such wrong behavior, once they are discovered they must be seriously dealt with.

3. Firmly ensure that each piece of reform work, especially the work of reforming and adjusting the organizational structure of the leading groups, is carried out without a hitch. At present the work of reforming and adjusting the organizational structure of Shanghai's leading groups is being carried out step by step and with close attention, and it is an important political task. The party's cadres, especially its leading cadres, must consciously comply with the "Several Stipulations That Cadres at All Levels Must Comply With in the Reform of the Organizational Structure," which was issued by the Organization Department of the Central Committee this year, and if there are noncompliances, criticism and education must be conducted and, according to the nature and seriousness of the case, the necessary disciplinary action should be taken. Recently, the Central Discipline Inspection Commission issued the "Notice on Firmly Stopping the Taking of the Opportunity of Reform in Organizational Structure To Engage in Unhealthy Tendencies in a Big Way," and we must firmly implement the notice. With regard to personnel who take the opportunity of the reform in organizational structure to engage in unhealthy tendencies, we must look at the nature and circumstances of their problems and, in accordance with party discipline and state law, deal with them sternly.

4. Continue to pay close attention to the struggle to crack down on serious economic crimes. Now, this struggle has already reached a crucial stage, and it must continue to be deepened, "dying embers glowing again"--a resurgence--must be prevented, and the task is still quite arduous. Comrades of the entire party, especially at all levels the leading cadres and the cadres who handle cases, must conscientiously study the documents of the 2d Plenary Session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, constantly improve their understanding, strengthen their confidence, overcome slack moods, fully realize that the crackdown on serious crimes in the economic domain is a long-term strategic task and a question that directly involves party style and party discipline and the atmosphere of society, and firmly carry this struggle through to the end. The discipline inspection organizations must conscientiously do good work in handling party discipline, and truly correct all sorts of unhealthy tendencies and illegal, undisciplined behavior in the economic field; make full use of typical law cases and in a widespread and deep-going manner launch education against corruption; energetically commend the advanced, develop a healthy atmosphere, heighten the ideological consciousness and struggle enthusiasm of many party members and cadres and especially cadres who handle cases, and seriously investigate and deal with by law party members and cadres who break the law or who seriously violate the party's principles, policies and rules; coordinate the study by relevant departments on the new circumstances and new problems appearing in the struggle, get a grip on the policies, and prevent deviations; and promote the focusing by the relevant departments and units on existing problems of organization, system and work style, integrate the work of rectification and reform, set up and perfect rules and regulations, and plug loopholes.

5. Firmly check several unhealthy trends and vigorously help sustain a healthy atmosphere. In the report of the Central Discipline Inspection

Commission it is pointed out that we must firmly check two of the biggest unhealthy trends currently in the masses' complaints, and this is in complete accord with Shanghai's actual circumstances. The first unhealthy trend is that some party members and cadres have engaged in a runaway inflation of individualism, taking the units that they are in charge of as "manors" that they can arbitrarily arrange, taking the authority given to them by the party and people as their own capital for acting like overlords, persisting in their old ways, and acting wildly in defiance of the law. Although the number of units, party members and cadres that brazenly violate organizational discipline and political discipline is small, their harm is great and their influence is very bad. In investigating and handling this category of law cases, although there is a lot of resistance and interference, the party committees and discipline inspection organizations should take a firm attitude, get deeply involved in investigation, get a tight grip on typical cases, dare to get hold of and meet problems head-on, and persist in the struggle. With regard to serious problems involving leadership organizations and leading cadres at the prefecture and county level and above, there must be even more boldness in dealing with them to the end, and they must be reported in a timely manner to the municipal party committee and the discipline inspection commission at the higher level. The second unhealthy trend is the serious unhealthy tendencies and illegal and undisciplined behavior by some party members and cadres when housing is built and distributed, and it is one of the problems about which the masses have the most complaints and show the most dissatisfaction. To firmly check this unhealthy trend is an important piece of work this year, especially the first half of the year. In accordance with the Central Discipline Inspection Commission's "Open Letter to Leading Cadres at All Levels in Enterprise Units and Party and Government Organizations Throughout the Country--The Unhealthy Trend of Party Members and Cadres in Building and Distributing Housing Must Be Firmly Checked" and the municipal party committee's "Notice on Firmly Checking the Unhealthy Trend of Party Members and Cadres in Building and Distributing Housing," the party committees, discipline inspection commissions, and related departments at all levels in the municipality must strengthen leadership, make plans, pay close attention to deployment, take effective measures and really get results. Each system, district, and unit, while firmly checking the above-mentioned two unhealthy trends, should also, based on the above-mentioned sorts of unhealthy tendencies, as well as problems in external affairs discipline, finance and economics discipline, and personnel discipline, and proceeding from reality, and through investigation and analysis, conduct conscientious inspections and deal with them strictly, make use of typical case precedents to draw inferences about other cases from one instance, educate the party members and cadres, check unhealthy trends and promote an accelerated turn for the better in party style.

6. The relevant departments must continue to coordinate in paying close attention to handling leftover problems during their examinations and reexaminations. We must attach extreme importance to work related to the masses' letters and visits, truly get a good grip on dealing with the key letters and visits, and do all we can to solve the problems in the units, departments and prefectures in which they appeared.



7. Firmly overcome the phenomenon of weakness and slackness in leadership work and improve the fighting capacity of party organizations. With regard to important law cases that have been taken up and dropped and have dragged on for a long time without resolution, party organizations at all levels should, before the consolidation of the party organization is launched, conscientiously sort out the cases and pay close attention to resolving them. They must not wait until all accounts are settled in the consolidation of the party organization, must strictly enforce the rules reiterated by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, and never allow any organization or any individual to violate the party constitution, to interfere with the investigation and handling of cases of violation, and even less allow shielding and covering up. Otherwise, they must investigate and affix responsibility and at the necessary time take disciplinary action. If cadres engaged in discipline inspection work knowingly violate these things, they must be dealt with strictly. If they discover problems but do not report, inspect and handle them, then there is a dereliction of duty and responsibility must be investigated and affixed.

#### Strengthen the Building of All Levels of Discipline Inspection Organizations

Although in the past several years Shanghai's discipline inspection work has scored definite successes, there is a big gap between them and the demands of the party Central Committee and the expectations of the masses. We must act in accordance with the spirit of the Central Committee's directives; resolutely carry out reforms in ideology, organization, work style and methods; and conscientiously and responsibly fulfill our own obligations. Then we will be able to fulfill our own obligations. Then we will be able to usher in a new situation in discipline inspection work, strive for marked progress within this year, and fulfill the great trust placed upon us by the party and the people. In 1983, we must mainly make great efforts for improvements in the following three aspects: 1) Strengthen study; bring order out of chaos; destroy the old and establish the new; and constantly raise our ideological, theoretical, political, and professional levels. 2) Establish and improve the organizational structure, adjust the groups, replenish the cadres, and rely on the forces of all sides in launching work. 3) Improve the leaders' work style, improve the work methods, and fully and correctly exercise the powers of office of discipline inspection organizations.

The year 1983 is a very important year. Doing good discipline inspection work this year will have a great bearing on realizing as fast as possible a fundamental turn for the better in Shanghai's party style and in promoting the construction of the four modernizations and all elements of reform work. Comrades throughout the party in Shanghai, especially the leading cadres at all levels, should, under the leadership of the municipal party committee and the party committees at all levels, take the lead and play an exemplary role in rectifying the party style and enforcing discipline, and should make greater contributions to this. The discipline inspection commissions at all levels should even more, under the leadership of the party committees and the discipline inspection commissions at the higher level, boldly take responsibility, courageously make reforms, work in a conscientious and down-to-earth manner, fulfill the tasks assigned to us by the party Central Committee and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, and not fail to live up to the fervent

expectations imposed on us by the broad masses inside and outside the party. We firmly believe that if the entire party works as one and struggles hard, it will certainly be able to usher in a new situation in discipline inspection work and realize as fast as possible a fundamental turn for the better in Shanghai's party style!

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CS0: 4005/932

EAST REGION

MEASURES TO IMPROVE SHANGHAI'S PUBLIC SECURITY PROPOSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 9 Jul 83 p 1

[Article: "Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Proposes Nine Measures to Improve Public Security"]

[Text] At the meeting of responsible party cadres yesterday called by the Shanghai municipal party committee, Comrade Wang Jian [3769 7003] proposed nine measures to reinforce social security work. They are as follows:

1. The political and judicial organs of the various levels must fully develop their dual function of dictatorship over the enemy and protection of democracy, rigorously suppress counterrevolutionary activities, ruthlessly crack down on criminal activities and the serious crimes in the economic realm.
2. Public security, civil affairs, industrial and commercial, taxation, urban construction and public health departments must, under the unified leadership of the government of the various levels, closely coordinate with one another, make a concerted effort, concretely reinforce the various administrative management measures and strengthen and maintain public order.
3. The various units concerned must strengthen the control of firearms, ammunition and explosives and continue to confiscate weapons used for committing crimes.
4. The work of educating and redeeming those taking false steps in life must be earnestly performed. The various areas, units, schools and families must earnestly assume the responsibilities, closely coordinate with one another and strengthen aid and education.
5. The party committees and governments of the various levels must reinforce security within the plants and enterprise units and of key construction projects and maintain a normal sequence of production.

6. The order of teaching and public security of the schools must be further improved.
7. Civil disputes must be promptly and correctly mediated and handled to prevent them from developing into major criminal cases.
8. Mass self-government organizations must be strengthened and their role in overall security management fully brought forth.
9. The political and judicial departments must closely coordinate with the propaganda, news and publishing, and culture and art departments, resort to public opinion tools of all kinds and vigorously propagate legality.

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CSO: 4005/1047

## EAST REGION

### SHANGHAI URGES ALL CADRES TO IMPROVE PUBLIC SECURITY

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 9 Jul 83 p 1

[Article: "Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Urges All Party Cadres to Properly Perform Public Security Work"]

[Text] Yesterday morning the Shanghai municipal party committee called a meeting of responsible party cadres for the purpose of mobilizing the whole party to implement the spirit of the national public security work conference and the telephonic conference of the Central Political and Judicial Group, focus on and succeed in the current social security work and strive for the further improvement of Shanghai's social mood and social order.

The meeting stressed that the cadres must comprehensively and deeply understand and implement the Party Central Committee's policy on political, judicial and public security work. To succeed in the overall management of social security, the political, judicial and public security departments have an important responsibility. As cracking down on the criminal activities is an important aspect of overall security management, they must forcefully exercise the dictatorial functions of their departments. In regard to the serious criminal activities, the crackdown and the security management must be stringent. Meanwhile, the various trades and industries and the various units must regard the overall security management as their proper obligation.

Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 2403], second secretary of the Shanghai municipal party committee and chief of the political and judicial leading group, and Wang Jian [3769 7003], standing committee member of the municipal party committee and assistant chief of the political and judicial leading group, spoke at the meeting.

Hu Lijiao said that Shanghai's social mood and social order have made an obvious improvement since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Nevertheless, problems calling for serious attention have also emerged in certain aspects, and the broad cadre masses urgently

demand the adoption of effective measures in order to further improve social order. The political, judicial and public security organs must fully develop their functions in the aspects of dictatorship and democracy. They must not think of protecting the people's legitimate rights as conflicting with reinforcing dictatorship, or set reliance on giving serious attention to crime prevention and performing guidance and persuasion work against cracking down on criminal activities, and overlook or slacken dictatorship over the enemy. Exercising dictatorship over the enemy and cracking down on criminals are the main functions of the political and judicial departments, and particularly the public security department. This function cannot be relegated to anyone else. While continuing to purge the pernicious "leftwing" influence, the tendency of inadequate effort in cracking down on crimes must also be rectified and prevented.

Hu Lijiao emphatically pointed out that whether the social mood and social order can improve hinges on the implementation of overall management. The public security department recently made arrangements to crack down on criminal activities and has produced results. Nevertheless, to succeed in overall management, relying on the political, judicial and public security departments alone is inadequate; the various trades and industries and the various units all have responsibilities which cannot be shirked. The various industrial enterprises and business units must include overall security management in their daily agenda, formulate plans, concretely fulfill, under leadership and by dividing the labor and taking the responsibility, such measures of overall management as prevention, control, education and reform, and make several annual inspections. The culture, art, news, publishing, broadcasting and television departments must strengthen the ideological education on patriotism, collectivism, socialism and communism while reinforcing the propaganda education on the constitution and legality.

Shanghai's vice mayors Ni Tianzeng [0242 1131 1073] and Ye Gongqi [5509 0361 3823] attended the meeting.

Responsible persons of the various departments, commissions and offices of the municipal party committee and municipal people's government, of the party committees of the various districts, counties, bureaus, colleges and universities, and scientific research units, and of the public security and procuratorial organs, courts, and judicial and civil affairs organs, totaling more than 2,000, participated in the meeting yesterday.

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CSO: 4005/1047



## SOUTHWEST REGION

### SICHUAN TAKES MEASURES AGAINST CORRUPTION DURING REFORM

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 28 May 83 p 1

[Article: "Sichuan Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission Notifies All Areas to Firmly Check Unhealthy Trends during Organizational Reform"]

[Text] With the consent of the provincial party committee, the Sichuan provincial discipline inspection commission recently issued a notice to the various municipal and prefectural party committees, branches of the provincial party committee, departmental party organizations (party committees) of the provincial level, and party organizations of mass people's organizations, asking them to firmly check the unhealthy trends during the organizational reform.

According to the notice, since the start of the organizational reform, the provincial discipline inspection commission has successively received letters from party members, cadres and masses, reporting that some areas and provincial level units, taking advantage of the reform, are widely following the unhealthy trends. Even after the Central Discipline Inspection Commission's "Notice on Firmly Checking the Unhealthy Trends during Organizational Reform" and the Central Organization Department's "Several Provisions to Be Followed by Cadres of Various Levels during Organizational Reform" were issued, this evil wind, instead of abating, has continued to spread.

According to the notice, some few leading cadres, taking advantage of the organizational reform, utilize their functions to transfer their children relatives and friends from the basic level to the leading organs and from other units to their own, to change the workers into cadres, and to alter their rural status to nonfarming. The main responsible person of a provincial level bureau transferred his daughter-in-law from another unit to his own, the wife of her older brother to its political office as a cadre, and the daughter of his old friend to a unit under it as chief of the personnel section. The main responsible comrades of some prefectural party committees and administrative offices successively transferred their daughters, sons-in-law, sons, daughters-in-law or relatives and

friends from outside areas, plants and army units to government organs. With the leading cadres setting the examples, their subordinates followed suit one after another.

According to the notice, under ingenious pretexts, some areas and units purchased articles with public funds for the staff and workers, covertly dividing up public property. Some provincial level organs issued non-staple foods, such as tremella, cured meat, fresh fish, canned goods and powder milk to the staff and workers. What was even more serious was that some provincial level units subsidized each worker with 100 yuan for washing machines. The departments of some prefectural party committees and administrative offices sold desks, tea tables, rattan chairs, etc. to private individuals at reduced prices; others used government lumber to make entire sets of furniture worth hundreds of yuan and gave them to the workers.

According to the notice, some units, taking advantage of meetings of all kinds, wined and dined lavishly and indiscriminately issued souvenirs. Others gave big banquets for dozens to hundreds of people. The souvenirs included toweling coverlets, sweaters, sheets, leather bags, radios, automatic umbrellas, etc.

To firmly check this evil wind and ensure the smooth progress of the organizational reform, the provincial discipline inspection commission, in its notice, proposed the following: (1) The party organizations of the various levels and the various units earnestly organize the broad party members, cadres and workers to study again the relevant documents of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and Central Organization Department and mobilize the masses to expose the unhealthy trends during the organizational reform. (2) Make a comprehensive examination and sorting of the unhealthy trends in their own areas and own units. In regard to the existing problems, take effective measures to check and rectify them immediately. The leading cadres voluntarily examine themselves and take the lead in rectification. Severely punish those who refuse to make corrections, persist in violations and the serious cases. (3) Under the leadership of the party committees of the various levels, the various departments in charge earnestly perform their duties, rigorously enforce the rules and actively investigate the unhealthy trends, investigating each case upon discovery. Investigate the responsibilities of those who fail to take action, investigate, check and handle. (4) The party committees (party organizations) of the new units investigate and handle all problems of abolished and merged units.

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CSO: 4005/1026

## SOUTHWEST REGION

### SICHUAN CRACKS DOWN ON 'UNHEALTHY TRENDS' DURING REFORM

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 28 May 83 p 1

[Article by special commentator: "Unhealthy Trends During Organizational Reform Must Not Be Permitted"]

[Text] Recently, one after another the people wrote to the leading organs to report the serious unhealthy trends in the areas, departments and units in Sichuan which are in the course of or will soon undertake organizational reform. The unhealthy trends include the following: utilizing one's functions to illegally make arrangements for one's children and relatives or change their status "from worker to cadre" or "from farming to non-farming;" utilizing meetings to hold banquets, eating and drinking lavishly, indiscriminately giving "souvenirs," and squandering and wasting; indiscriminately issuing goods and materials, disposing of office equipment at reduced prices, and converting state property under pretexts; constructing high-standard and spacious living quarters and building cosy nests. In short, those following the unhealthy trends make use of opportunities for personal gain and take advantage of the state. The unhealthy trends seriously damage the interest of the state, discredit the party and create a most unfavorable impression among the masses. The party committees and discipline inspection commissions of the various levels absolutely must not overlook them, but must give them close attention.

What deserves attention is that the evil wind today was initiated by a small number of leading cadres, and even backed by the decisions of the party organizations, under the pretext of "concern over the living conditions of the workers and helping them solve their practical difficulties." Such illegal and undisciplined conduct of disregarding the repeated injunctions of the Party Central Committee, taking advantage of the situation to make a profit, and benefiting the private at the expense of the public is an open violation of the party constitution and the "guiding principles;" it is a reflection of the pernicious influence of "use one's power while one has it, for it will become invalid when the time expires," the reactionary dogma once advocated by the "gang of four;" it is a marked manifestation of the ultra-egoist ideology. "Concern over the living

conditions of the masses" is actually squandering state assets to build their own "prestige" and win "votes." A violation of the basic standpoint and purpose required of Communist Party members and cadres and a manifestation of the lack of party spirit, such conduct is incompatible with the titles of Communist Party members and cadres.

The reform on all fronts currently underway is a profound revolution. The party spirit and party style of each and every Communist Party member, especially the leading cadres, will undergo a test in the reform. Since the reform is a revolution, Communist Party members, who regard the remodeling of the world as their own duty, should, with a revolutionary spirit, propel the reform forward. For this reason, they must place the revolutionary cause first, consider the overall situation, stress principles, adhere to the party spirit and serve as promoters of the reform. They must enhance their sense of political responsibility, serve as models in implementing the party constitution and the "guiding principles," follow the instructions of the Party Central Committee, consciously obey law and discipline, and refrain from acting against the interest of the party and the state. Not only thus, but they must, in the organizational reform, combat all practices against law and discipline and detrimental to the party style, and promote, by practical actions, the smooth progress of the reform.

Reform is an important guarantee of the success of the four modernizations. As we stress political unity with the Party Central Committee, we must today maintain unity on the reform issue. The party committees and discipline inspection commissions of the various levels must defend this important political discipline and ensure the smooth progress of reform. The organs of the various levels in Sichuan have launched reform or will soon do so. The illegal and undisciplined acts which may possibly emerge during the reform must not be underestimated, and concrete measures must be adopted, in order to provide against trouble in advance. The moment symptoms of unhealthy trends are detected, resolute and forceful measures must be adopted. As for those who deliberately follow the unhealthy trends, they must, according to the nature and circumstances of their offenses, be solemnly handled under state law and party discipline; they must not be let off lightly, or be told "just this once." As for the party organizations and leading cadres who knowingly fail to act, accommodate and shelter the offenders and allow the party and the state to suffer losses, their responsibilities must be investigated.

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CSO: 4005/1026

## SOUTHWEST REGION

### SICHUAN STRESSES OVERALL MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jun 83 p 1

[Article: "Sichuan Practices Overall Management of Social Security to Ensure Successful Progress of Four Modernization Construction"]

[Text] The provincial meeting to exchange experiences in the overall management of social security called by the Sichuan provincial party committee was held in Shehong from 25 to 30 May.

The central tasks of the meeting were to implement, in accordance with the relevant instructions of the Party Central Committee and the provincial party committee, the policy of overall management of security, summarize and exchange the achievements and experiences, make plans for the future, strive for a greater improvement in social order and social security, and ensure the successful progress of the four modernization construction.

The meeting was attended by the responsible comrades of the various municipal, prefectural and administrative office party committees, political and judicial groups, public security and procuratorial units, courts, judicial and civil affairs departments, some county party committees, plants and mines, organs and schools; the responsible comrades and delegates of the propaganda department of the provincial party committee, provincial women's federation, trade union, Communist Youth League, education department, culture department, office of the standing committee of the people's congress, and the public security units of the provincial military region; the responsible comrades of the provincial political and judicial group, public security department, procuratorate, court, judicial department and civil affairs department, a total of 160 plus persons.

At the meeting, experiences in overall security management were reported by 18 comrades from the party committees of Chongqing city, Mianyang and Fuling prefectures, Shehong, Pingchang, Tongliang, Jianwei and Hejiang counties, Chongqing municipal public health bureau and Shifang phosphate fertilizer plant. Their main experiences were: Uphold and reinforce the



leadership of the party committee and mobilize and organize the strengths of all quarters to handle the security issue; give serious attention to the cause, reduce the factors endangering social security, and integrate the overall management of social security with the building of a socialist spiritual civilization; continuously rectify the party style and thereby motivate an improvement in the social mood and social security; regularly analyze the security situation, start from the practical, relentlessly focus on the prominent problems and severely crack down on the criminals seriously threatening social security; strengthen the education, persuasion and redemption of crime prevention personnel and minor offenders; properly handle investigations, promptly exchange experiences, and propel the continuous development of overall security management.

Bai Shangwu [4101 1424 2976], member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee and secretary of the provincial political and judicial group, presided at the meeting and gave a talk. He stressed: Striving for the basic improvement of social security, building a stable social order and developing a civilized social mood constitute an important political task for the whole party. The party committees of the various levels must earnestly reinforce their leadership, and the various systems, departments and units must actively and properly perform the various tasks in overall security management, study the new conditions, summarize the new experiences, solve the new problems and contribute their strengths to the unfolding of a new phase in Sichuan's overall security management and the achievement of a basic improvement in social order. Deputy director Shan Jifu [0830 1015 1133] of the provincial party committee propaganda department, acting chairman Che Yiyang [6508 3015 5391] of the provincial women's federation, vice chairman Yang Shangping [2799 1424 1627] of the provincial trade union and other representatives of provincial level organs also spoke at the meeting.

In the course of the meeting, the attending comrades visited some basic level units in Shehong county and studied their experiences in the overall management of social security.

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CSO: 4005/1026



## SOUTHWEST REGION

### ADDITIONAL RENT CHARGED FOR EXCESS HOUSING

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jun 83 p 4

[Article: "Sichuan Resorts to Economic Means to Solve the Problem of Cadres Occupying Excess Housing"]

[Text] Reporter Luo Maocheng [5012 5399 1004] reports the following: The joint "notice" issued recently by the Sichuan provincial party committee and the provincial government provides that, beginning 1 July, additional rents will be charged on the excess portion of the housing occupied by cadres of the department and bureau levels and above. Those who have been assigned new quarters must vacate completely their current premises; otherwise they will not receive their new quarters. In case of violations, the person who approved the assignment will have his responsibility investigated and be subjected to economic sanction.

According to the "notice," those transferred to work in other areas should vacate their premises. Where the family is unable to go with the transferee, the housing control unit will make other suitable arrangements, and the living quarters under the transferee's original unit must be completely vacated; otherwise, a monthly rent of 1 yuan per square meter will be charged. The housing of a working child obtained in the names of his parents should be included in the housing area of the parents for purpose of computation. In case of occupation of housing area in excess of the maximum allowable in the written regulations, rents are charged according to the following scale:

1. Where the entire housing is of the old style and has no full facilities, if the excess area is less than one natural room, no additional rent will be charged; if the excess area is more than one natural room and approval has been granted the occupant to remain, an additional monthly rent of 0.10 yuan per square meter will be charged.
2. Where the housing has full facilities, if the excess area is less than 10 square meters, upon approval for the occupant to remain, an additional monthly rent of 0.10 yuan per square meter is charged on the

excess area; if the excess area is more than 10 square meters but less than 20 square meters, such excess area should, in principle, be vacated. If it is not vacated, an additional monthly rent of 0.50 yuan per square meter is charged on the excess area. If the excess area is more than 20 square meters, it should be vacated. If it is not vacated, an additional monthly rent of 1 yuan per square meter is charged.

3. Where a person, having been assigned new quarters, fails to vacate his original premises or privately transfer such premises to another without the approval of the housing control unit, or where a person occupies housing by force, the violator should vacate the premises in question within a stated time. An additional monthly rent of 2 yuan per square meter is charged for failure to vacate within the time limit.

According to the "notice," the above provisions are applicable to all staff and workers of the office level and below. The additional rents will become effective 1 August. The "notice" requires that the provisions contained therein be communicated to all staff and workers and enforced under their supervision.

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CS0: 4005/1026

## NORTHEAST REGION

### LIAONING CRACKS DOWN ON ILLEGAL PRICING, CHARGES

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jul 83 p 1

[Article: "Liaoning Provincial Government Decides to Implement Urgent Notice Issued by State Council and Central Discipline Inspection Commission and Firmly Crack Down on Illegal Price Hikes and Indiscriminate Charges of Expenses"]

[Text] At the meeting of the mayors, chiefs and commissioners of the various cities and prefectures yesterday, the Liaoning provincial government earnestly studied the urgent notice issued by the State Council and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission on firmly cracking down on illegal price hikes and indiscriminate charges of expenses, decided to implement it immediately and proposed concrete measures.

The provincial government demanded that the various cities and prefectures immediately communicate the urgent notice to the various departments and enterprises for earnest implementation. All units which raised prices illegally must consciously make corrections, lower the prices to the list prices of the state and turn over the receipts from the illegal price hikes; their main leaders must voluntarily write self-examination reports. Primarily, the practice of raising prices on major production means must be checked; the list prices of the state on steel products, pig iron, cement, lumber, coal and chemical fertilizer must be followed; the illegally raised prices must be firmly corrected; the illegal receipts must be turned over to the state. The various cities and prefectures and the various departments must severely handle the typical cases involving illegal price hikes and indiscriminate charges of expenses. The government cited numerous facts to illustrate the gravity of illegal price hikes among some enterprises and units and the necessity to crack down on them.

The provincial government proposed that the relevant provisions of the state be firmly followed when charging for construction projects. Where the state has made no express provisions and the charges are determined by the units themselves, be they any level of the government or any department, such charges are to be immediately halted; all arbitrary

charges are to be canceled; all illegal charges which occurred this year are to be refunded. The land requisition regulations issued by the state must be firmly implemented. No unit or individual may arbitrarily raise the standard or arbitrarily demand compensation and settlement allowances. Those seriously overcharging the state and blocking the construction of key projects must be earnestly handled. The charges in some areas for drawing up budgets, connecting water supply, connecting gas supply, subsidy to water-supply line, sewer line, gas line, pollution due to treating asphalt with fire, and opening water sources, a total of eight charges, are abolished immediately.

Joint projects by collective funding in various forms or names throughout the province are to be examined. The funds which have an improper origin, reduce the profit of the state, or are charged to the cost, thereby raising the construction expenses, are to be firmly recovered.

The provincial government demanded that the various cities and prefectures earnestly concentrate on the investigation and disposal of problems already found, that the party members and cadres who violated law and discipline be solemnly handled, punishing, dismissing or handling according to law wherever such measures are called for, without leniency or accommodation, and that the responsibilities of those protecting or sheltering the offenders be investigated.

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CSO: 4005/1045

## NORTHEAST REGION

### SHANDONG STRIVES TO IMPROVE GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jun 83 p 1

[Article: "Shandong Provincial Government Issues Seven Provisions to Improve Efficiency of Government Organs"]

[Text] The Shandong provincial people's government recently issued written instructions to improve the leadership style. The full text is as follows: To earnestly improve the leadership style and work methods and actively build the provincial people's government into an honest, industrious and efficient political power structure, all members of the provincial government must consciously observe the following provisions.

1. Study Assiduously: They must persevere in studying the works of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong, "Selections of Important Documents since the Third Plenary Session," "Selections of Deng Xiaoping," "Selections of Chen Yun's Manuscripts," directives and instructions of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, culture and science and management knowledge, and vigorously raise their theoretical, policy, cultural and scientific levels, in order to adapt to the needs of the modernization construction. They must schedule regular study periods; regardless of the work load, they must take the time to study. They must develop the academic trend of linking theory with practice and closely coordinate study and work.
2. Seeking the Truth from the Facts: They must emancipate their minds, have the courage to make changes, go deep into reality, investigate and study, and continuously clarify the new conditions and solve the new problems. Every year, they must spend 2 or 3 months in the basic level to make investigations. They must start from reality, avoid subjectivism, work concretely, seek actual results, and refrain from exaggerations, hollow words and formalism.
3. Enforcing the Responsibility System: The provincial governor leads the overall work of the government; the vice governors assist him in handling the tasks in the relevant aspects; major issues are to be discussed and decided at the meetings of the standing committee of the provincial government. All leading members must perform the duties assigned them, handling them boldly, making decisions where called for, keeping their promises and acting resolutely. They must start from the overall situation when solving problems and promptly issue notices on important matters.

4. Focusing on Key Points and Motivating the General: They must define the strategic goals, seize the key points, make scheduled situation analyses, formulate work plans, focus on the essentials and keys and promote the overall work. They must intensively study and thoroughly discuss the momentous decisions of the Party Central Committee and the State Council and, in connection with the practical conditions of the province, firmly implement and fulfill them. The provincial government must make scheduled work reports to the State Council, the provincial party committee and the provincial people's congress.

5. Reducing Meetings and Documents: Face-to-face leadership must be encouraged, and problems solved by going to the site. Meetings must be less in number and shorter in length, and the meeting style must be changed. As a rule, departmental business meetings will not be called in the name of the provincial government, and nor will provincial government leaders attend and speak at such meetings. There must be less documents; documents which should not be issued will not be issued; no document will be issued where the problem can be solved directly; documents which can be issued by the departments will not be issued in the name of the provincial government; documents which should be issued must be strictly controlled, making them brief and concise and problem solving. The leading comrades are encouraged to personally write documents and speech outlines.

6. Fully Developing Democracy; Closely Associating with the Masses: Government leaders must listen to the people's opinions with an open mind and accept the people's criticisms and supervision. They must schedule time to receive the people's visits and deal with their important letters. They must be modest and careful and treat others as equals. When visiting rural areas and plants, they must travel lightly and minimize their retinues, observe and appreciate the feelings of the people, and show concern over their difficulties. In regard to problems affecting the vital interest of the broad masses, they must, in definite forms, promptly propagandize and explain to the people throughout the province.

7. Performing Official Duties Honestly; Acting according to Law: They must be strict and upright, impartial and incorruptible, courageous in assuming responsibilities, and bold in tackling and interfering, taking the lead to foster the upright and suppress the evil, and struggling against all irresponsible phenomena and unhealthy trends. They must serve as models, refrain from claiming prerogatives, using their offices for private gain and practicing nepotism, and feel a high degree of responsibility toward the people. They must serve the people heart and soul.

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CSO: 4005/1045



EDUCATORS, EDITORS OF MAJOR HONG KONG JOURNALS DISCUSS 6TH NPC

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 27 Jun 83 p 21

[Article: "Forum of the 1980's--Forum on the 6th NPC"]

[Text] Speakers: Mr Weng Songran [5040 2646 3595] (professor, Political Administration Department, Chinese University of Hong Kong); Mr Li Yi [2621 1837] (chief editor of CHI SHI NIENDAT magazine); Mr Liang Junguo [2733 0689 0948] (lecturer, Political Science Department, University of Hong Kong); Mr Wen Hui [3306 6540] (chief editor, ZHENG MING magazine); Mr Lu Keng [7120 6972] (manager of BAI XING magazine); Lu Zijian [4151 1311 0256] (special commentator); Host and producer: Shao Lushan [6730 4151 6365]; Recorder: Dai Jianwen [2071 0256 2429]; Time: 10 pm-11 pm, 25 June, and 11 am-12 am, 26 June 1983.

Li Yi: The Sixth NPC is an internal power distribution, an appeasement to the senior members and for stabilizing the military under the gradual consolidation of the Deng-Hu-Zhao [Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang] system. This situation indicates that the Deng-Hu-Zhao system has already established power, and that they are trying to create a picture of unity, appeasement and unification. In the past, many leading personnel were replaced one after another in the Fifth NPC, such as the Whatever faction, the Cultural Revolution faction and the Petroleum faction. Now, as Deng-Hu-Zhao's influence has already infiltrated various fields and their authority has been established, they are beginning to reform. The Sixth NPC was the first conference for personnel reassignment after their power consolidation.

Liang Junguo: Judging by the system, six specialized committees were established in the Sixth NPC. In the past, China had established similar committees: The 1954 constitution stipulated the establishment of Nationalities, Legal, Budget and Representative Committees. The 1975 constitution did not stipulate any regulations. The 1978 constitution stipulated that the NPC could establish several specialized committees according to need. Afterwards, China established Nationalities and Legal Committees. This time, the Sixth NPC added four more specialized committees. Besides the chairmen, none of the members of these six committees are NPC standing committee members. This arrangement may imply that the committees may possess greater power--not policy making power, but power to study, investigate and express opinions in legislation.

But the more interesting point is that there are no corresponding party organizations.

Wen Hui: From the changes of delegates to the NPC and to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), we can see that the CPC is striving to create a united situation with a democratic atmosphere. The changes in the CPPCC are more noticeable. The ratio of CPC members is reduced to 40 percent, while personnel from different parties, factions and professions are being emphasized. Also, among the 20 vice chairmen of the NPC, 10 are CPC members and the other 10 are personages from various democratic parties. This situation was rare in the past. The election in the NPC was also performed through adequate consultation, discussion, and voting. It is clearly seen that the CPC is trying to show a more democratic and united situation than in the past.

Weng Songran: The significance of the Sixth NPC is in giving a legal foundation for the Deng-Hu-Zhao system. The new constitution's approval of the policies and personnel arrangement implies the acknowledgement of Deng Xiaoping's line. At present, as the efforts of bringing order out of chaos are brought to a temporary stop, China can enter the next stage. If the Cultural Revolution was a destruction period and the first 5 years afterwards were a readjustment period for bringing order out of chaos, the present time should be a construction period. As China has entered the construction period, we can predict that economic works will be emphasized, and political activities will be reduced. This is good for China. In addition, from the speeches at the NPC, we can see some special phenomena. Deng Xiaoping did not speak a word, but he was very prominent because he holds military power. Hu Yaobang spoke only a few sentences off stage about the three echelons. Zhao Ziyang's speech emphasized economic construction. Li Xiannian mentioned something about four upholds, but held back on the evaluation of Deng Xiaoping's system. Deng Yingchao talked about unification. These speeches imply that there is a new division of labor at the higher levels and that different voices can be heard.

Lu Keng: In general, a peaceful atmosphere pervaded the Sixth NPC, making the Chinese people think that they should love each other. The most outstanding issue was that on the adjourning day of the Congress, a picture of Deng Xiaoping riding a horse, with his granddaughter on his lap was published in the newspaper. That picture is a symbol indicating that in the future, China will try to avoid violence and strive for peace. This clearly explains that China is beginning to emphasize people, and is striving to value human interest. It also reflects that Deng Xiaoping is trying as hard as can be to cater to the Chinese people's likes and dislikes.

Lu Zijian: The NPC has accurately showed that China is stable. But problems concerning personnel arrangement, establishment and consolidation of systems and the selection of second and third level cadre groups still exist. In addition, the NPC emphasized unity, but lacked democratic atmosphere. Under a united atmosphere, should democracy be weakened:

Li Yi: At the NPC, the most prominent news was Ye Jianying's being elected as the vice chairman of the Military Commission. He once said at the 12th Central Committee that he would devote himself to serving the people until he

died. This February, he used old age and illness as reasons to withdraw from the NPC. Now, suddenly rejuvenated, he takes the post up again.

Weng Songran: The party personnel, the military personnel and the state personnel are almost identical, with no fundamental changes. Some people speculate that Deng Xiaoping wanted to loosen the party's control on the army and the government, but dared not take the risk, but my opinion is different. If the personnel of the party, the government and the army are not similar, there would be more external speculations.

Lu Keng: Since the party grasping military power is the principle of the communist party, they will not give that up. But in order to govern the state by the law and for democracy, they have adopted a compromise method, i.e. although the party controls the army, the state also should have an organization to manage the army.

Liang Junguo: Stability is important for four modernizations. Even a slight problem in the army will affect four modernizations. The almost identical personnel in the State Military Commission and the Party Military Commission could be said to be a continuous and hereditary practice.

Weng Songran: The newly established Ministry of State Security is of significance. The establishment of this ministry explains that China is preparing to launch more foreign policies. In the past, the Public Security Bureau mostly handled internal issues. As for handling spy cases and hijack incidents, I think the Ministry of State Security is necessary.

Liang Junguo: The Public Security Bureau originally could handle all external and internal cases. But following the development of four modernizations, social unrest, speculation, profiteering and corruption will correspondingly increase, and the Public Security Bureau's workload will be too large. Therefore, an organization specializing in foreign cases can more effectively handle hijack and spy cases.

Lu Keng: From a habitual viewpoint, the establishment of the Ministry of State Security is a less democratic and more dictatorial event. However, if we can calm down and consider the surrounding environment, the establishment may reflect China's policy of insisting on opening its door to foreign countries. In fact, I know the minister of state security, Mr Ling Yun [0407 7189]. Mr Ling once supervised the construction of Qincheng Prison. But when the prison was completed, he was the first one to be imprisoned. Consequently, he stayed there 7 years. It is obvious that this person is not frightening. Of course, I hope that the Ministry of State Security will not be like the Soviet's KGB (secret police), but be more reasonable.

Weng Songran: Under the new system, state chairman is a nominal position without any actual power. From the viewpoint of constitutional law, if the state chairman, the premier and the chairman of the Military Commission contradict each other, the central organization cannot function. However, as they have the party as their backing, this situation will not easily occur. But once Deng Xiaoping passes away, this system will possibly be amended.

Lu Zijian: The newly established leading organizations have digested the experiences of the Western countries. The state chairman is the figurehead, the chairman of the NPC is the leader in discussion, and he is responsible for convening conferences. In addition, the power of the NPC Standing Committee has been further expanded, so that it can become an organization for discussion, and for legislative and executive supervision.

Liang Junguo: The newly established posts of state chairman, chairman of the Military Commission and chairman of NPC must be responsible to the NPC. This also means that individual images will be reduced. The situation of individual autocracy is changing into a situation of collective leadership.

Wen Hui: The leading groups of the NPC do not meet the requirement of youthfulness.

Li Yi: In the Sixth NPC, an impressive topic was Hong Kong. Zhao Ziyang's speech did not mention reclaiming Hong Kong in 1997. Instead, he repeated past sayings that China would exercise its sovereign right at the appropriate time, and adopt appropriate measures to sustain Hong Kong's prosperity. More interesting was Deng Yingchao's speech. Instead of mentioning unification, she called on the Chinese in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan to contribute their efforts to the motherland's modernization. This may imply a change in policy.

Weng Songran: An Zijie's [1344 1311 0094] saying that Hong Kong is better to be governed by its law instead of by its people is very meaningful. In fact, the NPC and the CPPCC are beginning to emphasize law.

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